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LOW SCHOOL STATUS AS A PREDISPOSING FACTOR IN SUBCULTURAL DELINQUENCY.
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INDIVIDUAL SOCIAL STATUS WITH CLASSMATES AND WITH TEACHERS WAS EVALUATED TO DETERMINE THE EXTENT IT AFFECTS THE RESISTANCE OF THE ADOLESCENT MALE TO THE APPEAL OF ANTISOCIAL BEHAVIOR. A SAMPLE OF APPROXIMATELY 320 BOYS WERE INTERVIEWED IN DEPTH ON AN ANNUAL BASIS FOR 6 YEARS CONCERNING THEIR LEISURE-TIME ACTIVITIES AND FRIENDS FROM THE SEVENTH GRADE THROUGH THE SENIOR YEAR OF HIGH SCHOOL. EACH YEAR THE SCHOOL AND POLICE RECORDS OF CLOSE FRIENDS OF EACH SUBJECT WERE EXAMINED, AND THE ORIENTATIONS OF EACH TO DELINQUENT OR NONDELINQUENT ASSOCIATIONS WERE RATED. STATUS WITH CLASSMATES WAS MEASURED AT THE END OF EACH ACADEMIC YEAR BY ANALYSIS OF DATA GATHERED FROM A STUDENT QUESTIONNAIRE. EACH WAS ALSO STATUS-RATED BY TEACHER. FINAL ANALYSES OF DATA WERE CONDUCTED, AND A CLASSMATE-PERSPECTIVE FOR EACH ADOLESCENT WAS PREPARED. THE MOST SIGNIFICANT FINDING OF THE PROJECT WAS THAT POPULAR SCHOOL STATUS DOES NOT NECESSARILY RELATE TO FUTURE SUCCESS IN THE ADULT SOCIETY, AND VICE VERSA. THE FUTURE AS WELL AS THE EPHEMERAL PRESENT APPEARED TO BE OF MAJOR CONCERN TO MOST SUBJECTS, AND PEER GROUP SUCCESS, BY ITSELF, WAS NOT REASSURING. HIGH STATUS BOYS WHO WERE NOT INTELLECTUALLY SUCCESSFUL WERE AS LIKELY AS LOW STATUS BOYS TO SEEK COMPANIONS WITH DELINQUENCY RECORDS. (JH)

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LOW SCHOOL STATUS AS A PREDISPOSING FACTOR IN SUBCULTURAL DELINQUENCY

by

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As in so many other social surveys, a major debt of gratitude is owed to the study population. For five years these 320 young men filled out questionnaires and submitted to hour-long interviews.[1] What value the study has rests ultimately on their willingness to reveal their thoughts and experiences as a contribution to human knowledge.

The cooperation of many others was also necessary: school officials, teachers, police, judges, probation officers, parole officers, city officials, and correctional personnel. We shall not mention these many persons by name in order to make the community less identifiable and thereby to keep our pledge of anonymity to respondents. However, we cannot resist mentioning what to us has been an impressive lesson: Research such as our project is no ivory tower operation. Even apart from the study population, it involved the active cooperation of dozens of people over long periods of time -- some of whom could have ruined our research design merely by refusing to provide services beyond their ordinary professional responsibilities.

Finally, we would like to call attention to what will be obvious even to the casual reader of our report: This study cost thousands of dollars to produce -- far more than an individual scholar could hope to obtain from his college or university. For the first three years, the generosity of the Social Science Research Council made our work possible and for the last two years the sponsoring agency was the United States Office of Education. We hope that the addition to knowledge which we have made justifies this support.

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[1] We also obtained valuable questionnaire data from their female classmates. None of the girls was interviewed.

Chapter 1: THE CONSEQUENCES OF LOW STATUS AT SCHOOL

Many studies have shown that adolescent delinquents have a history of educational failure: disciplinary problems in class, retardation, truancy, and early school leaving.[1] Since these studies characteristically delve into the histories of boys already committed to a delinquent way of life, it is difficult to determine whether the school failure played a causal part in the emergence of delinquency or whether the delinquency prevented school success. In the study to be reported on here, an attempt is made to grapple with the problem of what causes what by setting up a panel of adolescent boys and observing the development of delinquent and non-delinquent patterns from year to year.

The Study Design

The study began in the spring of 1955 in a New Jersey city of about 40,000 population. All of the boys and girls in the seventh grade of the only junior high school in town filled out a questionnaire concerning "7th grade boys in Lincoln Junior High School." The questions were mostly of the sociometric type, as for example, "Who would you say are the *most popular* boys in the 7th grade?" "Which boys do you think are the *best athletes* in the 7th grade?" and "Whom do you think are the *smartest, most intelligent* boys in the 7th grade?" Although the form of the questionnaire filled out by girls and the form filled out by boys were similar, the boys were responding about members of the *same* sex, whereas the girls were responding about members of the *opposite* sex. During the administration of the questionnaires, some girls asked Rutgers staff members supervising the operation whether they might answer about *girls* instead of about *boys*. They claimed they did not know boys very well. We urged them to do the best they could, explaining that this study was concerned with boys rather than with girls. The boys' questionnaires contained some items not in the girls' questionnaires, and vice versa. Thus, the boys were asked to fill out a diary accounting for the way they had spent their time between leaving school and going to bed on the previous day; and the girls were asked to write anecdotal descriptions of the boys mentioned by them in their replies to the sociometric questions.[2/]

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[1] Jackson Toby, "Educational Maladjustment as a Predisposing Factor in Criminal Careers: A Comparative Study of Ethnic Groups," Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1950.

What did we learn about the seventh grade boys from an analysis of these questionnaires? We learned who were considered the outstanding athletes, who were considered the outstanding "brains," who were popular, admired, liked, disliked, considered stuckup, and so forth. We also learned from the girls' anecdotal comments what some of these sociometric questions and answers meant to the youngsters themselves. Obviously, student judgments change with time; and so we undertook to administer questionnaires at the end of the eighth grade, at the end of the ninth grade, and at the end of the twelfth grade. In each case, we collected questionnaires from all of the girls and all of the boys available on the days when the questionnaires were administered although the questionnaires asked only about the boys. It should not be thought that we had exactly the same respondents in the four questionnaire administrations -- nor, more importantly, did we have the same objects of inquiry. Between the time of the seventh and the eighth grade questionnaire administrations, some seventh graders had been left back, some had moved to other school systems, a few had left school to go to work, and as if to compensate for these losses, there had been, at the beginning of the 8th grade, an influx of 8th grade repeaters and a few new students. An additional

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[2/] Appendix A contains sample questionnaires administered to girls and to boys.

influx occurred at the beginning of the ninth grade when the parochial schools of the city and the primary schools of some outlying municipalities sent a large number of graduates into the junior high school. Thus, of the 171 boys who were in the seventh grade of the junior high school when the study began in 1955, only 95 boys were still objects of inquiry in the 1960 questionnaire administration.

The major hypothesis under test in this study is that low status in school favors the commitment of adolescent boys to a delinquent subculture. This hypothesis was derived from the social psychological theory that the individual's self-concept reflects in large measure the opinions of him held by significant others, that is, reflects his status in the group.[3/] Even if we assume, however, that youngsters who suffer from "status frustration" -- as Albert K. Cohen called it[4/] -- are attracted to a delinquent style of life, we cannot make specific predictions about who will become delinquent. Is it status in the family, status in the neighborhood, or status in the school that makes the decisive contribution to the youngster's conception of himself as adequate or inadequate? To put it another way, *which* status frustrations are most frustrating? *Which* significant others are most significant? This study does not explore the fascinating problem of the differential contribution of low status in the family, neighborhood, and school to the youngster's negative image of himself. Rather it assumes that the school is an important social structure for most adolescents -- as previous studies have shown[5/] -- and it goes on to ask: What type of low status within the school is most

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[3/] George Herbert Mead, *The Mind, Self, and Society*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934.

[4/] Albert K. Cohen, *Delinquent Boys: The Culture of the Gang*, Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1955.

[5/] James S. Coleman, *Social Climates in High Schools*, Cooperative Research Monograph, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1961.

likely to attract youngsters to a delinquent subculture? Does any kind of low status in school predispose toward delinquency, or is status with classmates less important than status with teachers?

A number of measures of school status were developed in the course of the study. One was a contrived item scale of sociometric status with classmates, which measured a boy's ranking in the class hierarchy of popularity.[6/] There were actually *two* scales of interpersonal status, one for status with boys and one for status with girls. Table 1 shows how actual items (observed items) from the questionnaires were combined into contrived items and ultimately made to yield a status score. Since status scales were derived from each questionnaire administration, it was possible for a boy in the study to have eight separate sociometric status ratings -- if he remained in the city school system from 1955 to 1960 and was not left back (two in the 7th, two in the 8th, two in the 9th, and two in the 12th).

Note that the status scales were essentially contentless. They told us which boys were popular with other boys in the grade and with girls but not *why* they were popular. This was no accident. We assumed that there were many paths to high sociometric status and that what was important was the level of deference the boy received, not why he received it. (As the reader will see, analysis of study data showed that this assumption was in error, but let us ignore this painful discovery for the moment.) There were sociometric items on the questionnaires with definite content. The positive items were a question which sought to identify "the *smartest, most intelligent boys*" and one which sought to identify the best athletes in the grade. There were three

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[6/] Matilda White Riley, John W. Riley, Jr., and Jackson Toby, *Sociological Studies in Scale Analysis*, New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1954, contains a full discussion of status scales. See especially chapters 4 and 18.

Table 1

The Scale of Status with Boys

The observed items entering into each contrived item	No. of sociometric votes required for a positive rating on each observed item	No. of objects receiving a positive rating on each observed item in the 9th grade (N = 269)	No. of objects receiving a positive rating on each contrived item in the 9th grade
Contrived Item I			42
Popular	3 or more	42	
Like best	6 or more	66	
Influence	3 or more	38	
Contrived Item II			71
Pal around	3 or more	103	
Admire	2 or more	72	
Influence	2 or more	63	
Contrived Item III			156
Admire	1 or more	127	
Like best	3 or more	158	
Pal around	2 or more	150	
Popular	1 or more	97	
Contrived Item IV			188
Influence	1 or more	120	
Like best	2 or more	192	
Pal around	1 or more	219	

Guttman Scale Types	Perfect Scale Types	Allocated to Perfect Scale Types
0. ----	74	
1. ---+	39	7
2. --++	76	
3. -+++	41	2
4. ++++	30	

N.B. Each object could have a positive rating on one of the observed items or on any or all of the observed items which make up that particular contrived item. On each contrived item, 2 positive ratings on observed items were necessary in order to be positive on the contrived item as a whole. All of the contrived items were treated as dichotomies in the Guttman scaling procedure.

negative items: "Which...boys don't care whether they do well in school or not?" "Which...boys are out for good times, thrills, and excitement nearly all the time?" "Which...boys act like 'tough guys'?" Finally, we collected data from the school records: the ability grouping in which the boy was placed in the 7th and 8th grades[7], his marks from the 7th to the 12th grades, the conduct ratings he received while he was in junior high school, the course of study he elected when he entered high school, his father's occupation, his race, his religious affiliation, his date of birth, and whether he graduated from high school or left before graduation.

To sum up: we had the following measures of school status:

1. The status awarded by teachers as reflected in ability grouping placement, marks, and conduct ratings.
2. The status accorded a boy by his classmates on the basis of his intelligence and scholastic accomplishments.
3. The status accorded a boy by his classmates on the basis of his athletic prowess.
4. The status accorded a boy by his classmates as likeable -- regardless of what the basis for his popularity was.

Although not the main focus of the study, we also had data on the boys' status in the community -- insofar as this was reflected in the occupation of the boy's father and in his racial and religious affiliation.

The Dependent Variable: Attraction to a Delinquent Subculture

In order to test the hypothesis that boys whose status in school was low were more likely to adopt a delinquent style of life than boys whose school status was high, it was necessary to define "a delinquent style of life" operationally. This proved to be more complicated than one might suppose. We were reluctant to use the usual index of delinquency, i.e., arrests or court appearances, because we feared that the relationship between recorded arrests and commitment to a delinquent way of life is rather crude. For instance, a neurotic or psychotic youngster may be arrested for law violation, but in such a situation illness rather than anti-social values cause him to collide with legal norms. (At least two boys in the study had serious psychopathological symptoms; one of these was committed to a mental hospital for several months.) Sometimes a delinquency petition is filed because the parents and the child are in conflict -- even though the child may not be otherwise violating legal norms. (At least one boy in the study was brought to juvenile court because of such a situation.) But perhaps the more usual example of an essentially law-abiding youngster who commits a delinquent act is the prank: the impulsive act of a boy who (after the fact) joins the community in repudiating his own behavior. Thus, theoretical doubts can be raised as to whether arrests or court appearances necessarily indicate commitment to anti-social values. And, on the other hand, we know that many anti-social persons manage to avoid apprehension by the authorities. According to Uniform Crime Reports, somewhat less than 30% of the burglaries known to the American police in 1960 were cleared by the arrest of the perpetrators.[8]

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[7] There were seven distinct levels in this junior high school. The main determinant of placement was intelligence test scores, but some modification was made on the basis of the grades received in previous years.

Feeling as we did that arrests and court appearances are an unsatisfactory index of commitment to a delinquent role, including as they do cases that should not be included and excluding of necessity offenders who were not caught, we attempted to devise a more valid index. We took our point of departure for this index from the discussions in the criminological literature of "differential association" -- that is to say, from the observation that delinquent behavior usually involves interaction with more sophisticated delinquents who informally teach the neophyte "how to do it."[9] We reasoned that in any given time period the proportion of a boy's friends who had a record of delinquency would be a better index of his commitment to a delinquent role than his own arrest record. On first consideration, we noted that our proposed index contained a paradoxical feature: A boy who himself had a long delinquency record would not be categorized as committed to a delinquent role unless he had delinquent friends. In the study population this turned out to be an academic possibility because, while many boys without a delinquency record themselves had delinquent friends, virtually none with a delinquency record lacked delinquent friends. (See Table 2.) In a larger sample there would probably be cases of boys with a history of serious delinquencies and no evidence of delinquent friends -- perhaps no friends at all. The logic of excluding such cases from the dependent variable rests on the assumption that they are likely to be psychopathological delinquents rather than subcultural delinquents.[10]

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[8] United States Department of Justice, Uniform Crime Reports -- 1960, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1961, p. 85.

Conversely, our proposed delinquency index identifies boys as committed to a delinquent way of life (by the criterion of delinquent friends) who may themselves have a spotless record. Isn't it possible for a boy to have delinquent friends without himself having delinquent values? It certainly is possible. However, a boy chooses his friends within the population limits of his neighborhood and his school. Thus, in some sense the burden of proof is

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[9] Several articles in the summer, 1960, issue of Social Problems were devoted to theory and research on differential association.

[10] Implicit in most of the sociological monographs on subcultural delinquency is the assumption that the theories capable of explaining it do not necessarily explain psychopathological delinquency. See Cohen, op. cit.; Richard A. Cloward and Lloyd E. Ohlin, Delinquency and Opportunity: A Theory of Delinquent Gangs, Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1960; Herbert A. Bloch and Arthur Niederhoffer, The Gang: A Study in Adolescent Behavior, New York: Philosophical Library, 1958.

Table 2

The Relationship between the Arrest Records of Panel Members and the Arrest Records of Their Friends, 1955-1960

The Arrest Records of Panel Members Themselves	The Arrest Records of Friends of Panel Members[a/] No Friends Arrested %	A Few Friends Arrested %	Many Friends Arrested %
No arrests	89	80	31
One arrest	10	14	27
Two or more arrests	1	6	42
Total	100%	100%	100%
(Number of Cases)	(79)	(119)	(122)

[a/] See Appendix B for operational definitions of "few" and "many" friends arrested.

upon him. If he does not share the values of his close friends, why does he associate with them? An obvious explanation for his own lack of an arrest history is that he may not have been caught yet. Let us attempt to show by a hypothetical illustration that the chances of correctly assessing a youngster's involvement in delinquency may improve by using our proposed index instead of his official record. Suppose the probability of not getting caught for a boy who is committing delinquent acts is one out of two. If we use the boy's own record as the criterion of his commitment to a delinquent way of life, we are wrong in half the cases. If we consider his friends' records and if he is a member of a clique of eight boys, all of whom participate in delinquency, the chances that none of them will have been caught by the police is $(1/2)^8$ or one out of 256. Thus, by taking into account the clique structure of adolescent life, our proposed index may compensate for the necessary inefficiency of law enforcement under modern urban conditions.

But what of the boy who has delinquent friends but does not himself participate in their anti-social activities? In such cases our index is invalid. It is a question of the balance of invalidity; no operational definition is perfect. The justification for using this friendship assessment index instead of the boy's own record is our assumption that, on balance, our index will result in better classification of cases than the conventional measure.

The basic data for our friendship assessment index was obtained in the course of annual interviews with each of the boys in the panel. The interviews consisted mainly of getting the names of and background information concerning boys that the respondent claimed he "palled around with" outside of school. At the first interview, the research was defined to the boy as a survey of friendship changes among adolescent boys. It was explained that the interviewer, a sociology professor at Rutgers, intended to write a book about what he learned.[11] (This led to questions over the years about how the book was progressing, where it could be seen or bought, etc.) The interviews were conducted during periods when the boy was excused from class by the school authorities to participate in the survey -- usually during study periods. However, the interviewer explained that he had no connection with the school and that the school authorities were doing him a great favor by letting him speak with the students. Thus, it was implied, if not always directly expressed, that participation in the research was purely voluntary. As a result, students occasionally asked to be allowed to return to a class they particularly wished to attend (most commonly gym); and they were rescheduled for an interview at a later time. More frequently, they seemed delighted to "miss a class," and they sometimes asked to be permitted to stay until the end of the period even if five or ten minutes remained by the time the interview was finished. There were no instances during the five years of the study where a boy refused outright to be interviewed.[12]

At the first interview it was further explained that the survey would be continued in future years, and the hope was expressed that the boy would again be willing to help. Since the problem was defined as an investigation of friendship changes, it was easy to justify both the continued interviewing and the request for specific names (of friends) at each interview. Even when the respondent expressed no curiosity about the purposes or future of the study, the interviewer made it a point to mention these matters in passing.

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[11] For the first two years of the study, all of the interviewing was done by Jackson Toby. For the last three years nearly all of the interviewing was done by one research assistant.

[12] Oddly enough, there were several instances of boys in the panel who refused to fill out questionnaires. Since these were the same boys who previously and subsequently permitted themselves to be interviewed, their refusal was puzzling. Something about the mass administration of the questionnaires must have been perceived as a threat. (They were excused from filling out the questionnaires and assured that "you don't have to fill those out. Dr. Toby would like you to, but not if you don't feel like it.")

Thus, by the time the second year of interviewing arrived, boys came for interviews knowing what to expect and replying, "Sure I remember! You're writing a book," to the question, "Do you recall what this is all about? A survey of friendship changes --" The interviewer had become a fixture at the junior high school; teachers and staff members as well as students knew who he was and where he did his interviewing. Not everybody understood precisely what he was doing. For example, one middle-aged woman who worked in the cafeteria asked him whether she could have her chest x-ray sent to him; she apparently thought he was the school physician. And on one occasion a parent complained to the school principal about this psychiatrist who was "psychoanalyzing the kids."[13]

The interviews varied in length between 20 minutes and an hour depending on how many friends the boy had and what kind of activities he did with them. For each friend named, basic data were collected: the age of the friend, the school grade the friend was in if he were still enrolled (or the age at which he quit), the length of time the respondent had been friendly with his friend, the usual activities which the friends did together, and the respondent's estimate of the closeness of the relationship. Thus, for each boy who remained in school until high school graduation in 1960, we have a master interview card showing a separate list of friends for each of five interviews. For boys who left school, we also have master interview cards, but it was far more difficult to interview leavers in their homes than to interview school attenders at school. As a result, four lists of friends instead of five were more common on the master interview cards of the leavers. These lists of friends rather than any direct questions about delinquent activities constituted the source of our information about delinquency. The lists were processed in the following way: During each of the five interview years, A through E, an alphabetical file was made for all male friends named by all the panel members. Each friendship file contains a thousand or more names. During the years corresponding to the interview files, delinquency files were also established. These files are an alphabetical listing of the names of all males under 25 known to have committed offenses in year A, year B, year C, year D, or year E. The compilation of these delinquency files was difficult because of the several overlapping jurisdictions involved. A municipal court, five juvenile aid bureaus, two parole districts of the state parole bureau, and two county probation departments contributed names to the delinquency files. As far as could be determined from official sources, the delinquency files contain the names of all males under 25 who committed juvenile or adult offenses in the communities served by the Lincoln Junior High School. Each friendship file was checked against each delinquency file for the corresponding year, and every case of matching duly noted.[14/]

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[13] Both of these misapprehensions might have been avoided had the interviewer been known as "Professor Toby" instead of as "Dr. Toby." There was another factor, however, that contributed to the confusion. Due to the shortage of space in the school, the only available interviewing station was the bedroom of the home economics apartment. The interviewer was invariably careful to sit on the bed himself and to let the respondent sit on a chair, but the symbol of the psychiatrist's couch hovered over the interview nonetheless. There were other disadvantages to the bedroom interviewing station. Students had difficulty in finding it during 1955-1956; the home economics apartment was of course better known to girls than to boys. Second, the bedroom did not open directly on the corridor. If there was a class scheduled for the outer room, the interviewer, the respondent, or both had to tiptoe through the class unless the beginning and the end of the interview coincided exactly with the class period. On the other hand, privacy was assured. And the peculiarities of the furnishings served to distinguish the interviewing situation from the rest of school. This may have made a valuable contribution to rapport with boys who hated school.

[14/] The problem of matching was not a mechanical operation because youngsters often did not know the exact spelling of their friends' names. The danger, of course, was that we would miss making a match in cases where the spelling and the pronunciation of the name did not correspond very well. No doubt there were some boys who got credit for fewer delinquent friends than they actually had for this capricious reason. Our careful study of the files, name by name and letter by letter, meant that a match would rarely be missed if we made a correct assumption as to the first letter of the friend's last name. (We had sufficient identifying information about friends and about delinquents to check out possible matches, but of course we had to rely on similarities of last names to suggest the possibility of a match in the first place.) We have

As a result of matching an interview file against a delinquency file, the names of boys in the interview file with a delinquency record in that year were noted. Such notations were transferred to the master interview cards so that all of the members of the panel got credit for all of the delinquent friends named by them in their annual interview. In addition to searching the delinquency files to find out whether the friends of panel members had delinquency records, we also investigated the delinquencies of panel members themselves. Thus, we had six raw delinquency measures for each panel member: the proportion of the friends he named in A year with delinquency records, the proportion of his friends in B year with delinquency records, the proportion of his friends in C year with delinquency records, the proportion of his friends in D year with delinquency records, the proportion of his friends in E year with delinquency records, and the number of delinquencies the boy himself committed over the five-year period. We also compiled a summary measure of delinquent associations over the five-year period. This measure distinguished boys who never had any delinquent friends, boys with a few delinquent friends over the five years, and boys with a considerable number of delinquent friends -- at least an average of one per year and at least one year in which 1/3 of their friends or more were delinquent.

What about those boys who did not graduate with their class in 1960? We made no attempt to keep the 30 boys whose families moved out of the community in the study, but we made every effort to continue interviewing panel members as long as they remained in the community -- regardless of whether they were

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14/ continued.
no way of estimating the amount of error contributed by the matching procedure. All we can say is that we made heroic efforts to keep this error to a minimum. Thus, we would check unmatched names beginning with "s" and "z" as well as against names beginning with "c" in the delinquency file. Keep in mind that the error contributed by the matching procedure was not random error. It was virtually impossible for a boy to get credit for more delinquent friends than he actually had, but he could appear to have fewer delinquent companions if pronunciation was a poor clue to spelling, and the chances of this underestimation increased with friends of Italian or Hungarian origin.

left back, had transferred to another school in the area (for example, the vocational high school), or had left school to go to work. The leavers proved the most difficult group to keep in the panel. Some interviews were tremendously time-consuming because it proved impossible to make advance appointments with school leavers, and interviewers made as many as ten and fifteen call-backs before finding the respondent. Even these measures did not suffice in a few cases. Boys moved without leaving forwarding addresses or were literally never home. Nevertheless, the majority of the 87 school leavers (including those who left to join the Armed Service) were interviewed at least three times. Thus, panel members in 1960 were, by no means, a homogeneous group. Some were school leavers; some were high school graduates from one of three high schools; some were still in high school after having failed one or more years; a couple were locked up in reformatories.[15]

In addition to retaining as many boys as possible in the study from the original seventh grade population, we permitted the panel to grow by the addition of 26 boys who entered it in the eighth grade and 123 who entered it in the ninth. Thus, the total panel consisted of 320 boys, most of whom (171) were recruited in the seventh grade but some added later. No additions to the panel occurred after the ninth grade -- although some losses occurred. It might be argued that the addition of ninth grade boys to the panel confused the original design. On the other hand, it was not known how many would move or leave school, and we justified swelling the numbers in the panel by our desire to relate information about delinquency from the interviews to information gained from the questionnaire administrations.

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[15] One interview was conducted in the county jail, and two were done in state reformatories. When we learned that a school leaver had been commited to jail, we are ashamed to admit that our feelings were mixed. Sorry as we were for the boy, we were also relieved that he became readily available for interviewing.

Results

Analysis revealed that there were indeed differences in school status within the panel, but that not all these differences had measurable effects on delinquency. To summarize our findings in brief: (1) A status measure that measured essentially popularity with the other students was uncorrelated with delinquent outcomes. (2) Similarly, athletic prowess did not differentiate boys who subsequently became delinquent from boys who did not. (3) The kind of school status that was most strongly related to delinquent outcomes was intellectual status -- whether this was measured by teacher placement in bright or slow classes, by academic grades, or by student votes on the "smartest, most intelligent boy" in the grade.

Let us now examine the findings in greater detail. Since teachers' ratings on intellectual status and fellow student ratings both proved relevant to the total intellectual status of a youngster, we used both of these in a composite rating. Thus, Table 3 shows four levels of intellectual status, each determined both by student and teacher ratings. Boys' intellectual levels partly reflect the occupational roles of their fathers. White-collar, skilled craftsman, and foreman represent the more advantaged socio-economic level. The rest were put into the socio-economically disadvantaged category. Table 3 shows these eight categories cross-tabulated against the number of delinquent friends acquired over the five years of the study. Quite clearly, the higher the intellectual status of the boy and the better the socio-economic status of his family, the less likely is it for a boy to acquire many delinquent friends. Why should this be? At first we thought that intellectual status was but one of several types of school status and that any one of them would have the same preventive effect on the development of delinquency. Further investigation showed this hypothesis to have been in error. As Tables 4, 5, and 6 show, neither generalized popularity (interpersonal status)

Table 3

The Relationship between the Socio-economic and Intellectual Levels of Panel Members and the Arrest Records of Their Friends

Superior Socio-economic Level

	Intellectual Level[b]			
Arrest Records of Friends, 1955-1960[a]	Brightest %	Bright %	Mediocre %	Dull %
No friends arrested	37	41	26	19
A few friends arrested	53	41	32	35
Many friends arrested	10	18	42	46
Total (Number of Cases)	100% (30)	100% (34)	100% (38)	100% (26)

Inferior Socio-economic Level

	Intellectual Level			
	Brightest %	Bright %	Mediocre %	Dull %
No friends arrested	27	28	14	8
A few friends arrested	46	34	27	38
Many friends arrested	27	38	59	54
Total (Number of Cases)	100% (26)	100% (47)	100% (51)	100% (48)

[a] See Appendix B for operational definitions of "few" and "many" friends arrested.

[b] See Appendix B for operational definitions of intellectual levels.

Table 4

The Relationship between Interpersonal Status with Boys and the Arrest Records of Friends (with socio-economic and intellectual levels held constant)

Arrest Records of Friends, 1955-1960[a]	Superior Socio-Economic Level						Inferior Socio-Economic Level					
	Bright[b]			Dull			Bright			Dull		
	Status with Boys[c]			Status with Boys			Status with Boys			Status with Boys		
	Low %	Medium %	High %	Low %	Medium %	High %	Low %	Medium %	High %	Low %	Medium %	High %
No friends arrested	41	40	35	29	14	40	36	24	8	16	4	20
A few friends arrested	37	45	59	46	27	--	37	36	50	34	31	20
Many friends arrested	22	15	6	25	59	60	27	40	42	50	65	60
Total (Number of Cases)*	100% (37)	100% (40)	100% (17)	100% (28)	100% (29)	100% (5)	100% (33)	100% (25)	100% (12)	100% (44)	100% (46)	100% (5)

* Nine cases were omitted from this table because they failed to receive sociometric ratings from their classmates in the 7th, 8th, or 9th grades. They left school before the questionnaires were administered.

[a] See Appendix B for operational definitions of "few" and "many" friends arrested.

[b] See Appendix B for operational definitions of intellectual levels. "Bright" panel members in this table include "brightest" and "bright" categories of Table 3; "dull" panel members here include "mediocre" and "dull."

[c] See Appendix B for operational definitions of "low," "medium," and "high" status.

Table 5

The Relationship between Interpersonal Status with Girls and the Arrest Records of Friends
(with socio-economic and intellectual levels held constant)

Arrest Records of Friends, 1955-1960[a]	Superior Socio-Economic Level						Inferior Socio-Economic Level					
	Bright[b]			Dull			Bright			Dull		
	Status with Girls[c]			Status with Girls			Status with Girls			Status with Girls		
	Low %	Medium %	High %	Low %	Medium %	High %	Low %	Medium %	High %	Low %	Medium %	High %
No friends arrested	45	36	33	23	20	25	39	--	28	12	5	11
A few friends arrested	37	48	57	43	20	--	36	44	39	36	26	11
Many friends arrested	18	16	10	34	60	75	25	56	33	52	69	78
Total (Number of Cases)*	100% (38)	100% (25)	100% (21)	100% (44)	100% (19)	100% (8)	100% (36)	100% (16)	100% (18)	100% (67)	100% (19)	100% (9)

* Nine cases were omitted from this table because there were no sociometric ratings for them. (See note under Table 4.)

[a] See Appendix B for operational definitions of "few" and "many" friends arrested.

[b] See Appendix B for operational definitions of intellectual levels. "Bright" panel members in this table include "brightest" and "bright" categories of Table 3; "dull" panel members here include "mediocre" and "dull."

[c] See Appendix B for operational definitions of "low," "medium," and "high" status.

Table 6

The Relationship between Athletic Status and the Arrest Records of Friends
(with socio-economic and intellectual levels held constant)

	Superior Socio-Economic Level				Inferior Socio-Economic Level			
	Bright[b]		Dull		Bright		Dull	
Arrest Records of Friends, 1955-1960[a]	Non-Athlete[d] %	Athlete %	Non-Athlete %	Athlete %	Non-Athlete %	Athlete %	Non-Athlete %	Athlete %
No friends arrested	42	25	26	9	31	14	12	6
A few friends arrested	43	58	41	-	35	50	32	29
Many friends arrested	15	17	33	91	34	36	56	65
Total (Number of Cases)*	100% (72)	100% (12)	100% (51)	100% (11)	100% (56)	100% (14)	100% (78)	100% (17)

* Nine cases were omitted from this table because they failed to receive sociometric ratings from their classmates in the 7th, 8th, or 9th grades. They left school before the questionnaires were administered.

a/ See Appendix B for operational definitions of "few" and "many" friends arrested.

b/ See Appendix B for operational definitions of intellectual levels. "Bright" panel members in this table include "brightest" and "bright" categories of Table 3; "dull" panel members here include "mediocre" and "dull."

d/ See Appendix B for operational definitions of athletic status.

nor athletic prestige served to prevent the acquisition of delinquent friends if intellectual status is controlled. Why should intellectual status and family status have so much greater consequences for the subsequent behavior of the boy than these other forms of recognition? As we attempt to show in the next section of this report (in the words of the youngsters themselves), adolescents are not oriented to the present alone. They assess their own future prospects and those of their classmates. Some they think of as most likely to come to a bad end and others as most likely to succeed. We believe that low intellectual status is associated with the acquisition of delinquent friends because low intellectual status is correctly regarded by the youngster himself,as well as by the classmates around him, as incompatible with a bright future, socio-economically at any rate. If there were complete equality of socio-economic opportunity, we would hypothesize that family status would not add anything to intellectual status, that the relationship between intellectual status and delinquent outcomes would be even sharper and clearer than it is in Table 3. As many studies have demonstrated and as these youngsters know without studying scientific literature, family status and intellectual status make independent contributions to the probability of going to college.[16] Table 7 shows the relationship between enrollment in the college course and intellectual and family status.

To sum up the argument so far, we are hypothesizing that those youths with bright prospects for the future are more cautious about jeopardizing them by associating with delinquent friends and engaging in delinquent acts. Depth interviews with the youngsters from year to year on their orientation to the future would have been extremely useful to check this hypothesis. Unfortunately, such interviews were beyond the resources of the study, so we

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[16] Elbridge Sibley, "Some Demographic Clues to Stratification," American Sociological Review, Vol. 7 (1942), pp. 322-330.

Table 7

The Relationship between Socio-economic and Intellectual Levels and Course of Study in High School

	Superior Socio-Ec. Level		Inferior Socio-Ec. Level	
Course Completed	Bright[b/] %	Dull %	Bright %	Dull %
College	64	15	33	3
Non-college	20	36	33	37
Did not graduate*	4	40	19	49
Moved away	12	9	15	11
Total (Number of Cases)	100% (84)	100% (73)	100% (64)	100% (99)

* This category includes boys who had not graduated as of June 1961. Most had left school; five boys had been left back twice and were still in school.

b/ See Appendix B for operational definitions of intellectual levels. "Bright" panel members in this table include "brightest" and "bright" categories of Table 3; "dull" panel members here include "mediocre" and "dull."

must rely on indirect evidence, namely, the sociometric data from the questionnaires. Beginning with the eighth grade questionnaires, we included items designed to indicate which boys were perceived by their classmates as alienated from or indifferent to the academic values of the school. Thus, the eighth grade boys were asked to name boys who "don't care whether they do well in school or not" and boys "out for good times, thrills and excitement." The eighth grade girls were asked to name boys who "act like tough guys." We continued to ask about boys committed to non-academic values in subsequent questionnaire administrations (in the ninth and twelfth grades). We categorized each member of the panel on the basis of the sociometric nominations in the eighth or the ninth grades as caring about school or not caring about school, as out for thrills and excitement or not, and as tough or not tough. Note two aspects of this procedure: (1) The categorizations were based on classmate perceptions, not on the boy's own expression of his attitudes.17/ (2) The categorizations were deliberately based on the earliest possible grades for which data on perceived orientation to non-academic values were available. Thus, we ignored ninth grade data if the boy was already in the panel in the eighth grade. And we excluded twelfth grade data completely. The rationale of ignoring twelfth grade attitude data was our assumption that the best chance of demonstrating that certain attitudes are causally related to delinquency lay in identifying the attitudes in a time period antedating the occurrence of delinquent behavior.18/

17/ Eighth grade boys were asked to describe themselves as caring or not caring about school. The correlation between self-descriptions and classmate perceptions was fairly high.

18/ In point of fact, the dependent variable, proportion of friends with an arrest record, was based on a five-year period two of which coincided with the years during which the sociometric data on quasi-delinquent attitudes were collected. It was of course possible to exclude these years in calculating the proportion of friends with arrest records. We decided that the advantage of using five friendship interviews instead of three outweighed the disadvantage of overlapping time periods.

Table 8

The Relationship between Socio-economic and Intellectual Origins and Being Perceived as Holding Quasi-delinquent Values

	Superior Socio-Ec. Level		Inferior Socio-Ec. Level	
	Bright[b/] %	Dull %	Bright %	Dull %
Don't care about school	19	55	21	47
Thrill-seekers	39	37	37	46
Tough	32	28	37	29
(Total = 100%)*	(84)	(68)	(60)	(85)

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* 23 cases were omitted from this table. 9 boys failed to receive sociometric ratings in 7th, 8th, or 9th grades (see note under Table 4), and an additional 14 were rated in the 7th grade but left school before the administration of the 8th grade questionnaires. Questions on quasi-delinquent values were not asked in the 7th grade.

[b/] See Appendix B for operational definitions of intellectual levels. "Bright" panel members in this table include "brightest" and "bright" categories of Table 3; "dull" panel members here include "mediocre" and "dull."

Table 9

The Relationship between Caring about School and Being Perceived as Thrill-Seeking or Tough (with socio-economic and intellectual levels held constant)

	Superior Socio-Economic Level				Inferior Socio-Economic Level			
	Bright[b/]		Dull		Bright		Dull	
	care about school	don't care about school	care about school	don't care about school	care about school	don't care about school	care about school	don't care about school
% of thrill seekers	32	69	22	48	30	64	27	68
% of non-thrill seekers	68	31	78	52	70	36	73	32
% of "tough guys"	29	44	18	45	24	86	18	42
% of boys not called tough	71	56	82	55	76	14	82	58
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
(Number of Cases)*	(68)	(16)	(27)	(33)	(54)	(14)	(45)	(40)

* Twenty-three cases were omitted from this table. Nine boys failed to receive sociometric ratings in 7th, 8th, or 9th grades (see note under Table 4), and an additional 14 were rated in the 7th grade but left school before the administration of the 8th grade questionnaires. Questions on quasi-delinquent values were not asked in the 7th grade.

b/ See Appendix B for operational definitions of intellectual levels. "Bright" panel members in this table include "brightest" and "bright" categories of Table 3; "dull" panel members here include "mediocre" and "dull."

Table 10

The Relationship between Holding Quasi-Delinquent Values and Having Delinquent Friends
(with socio-economic level, intellectual level, and caring about school held constant)

	Superior Socio-Economic Level				Inferior Socio-Economic Level			
	Bright[b/]		Dull		Bright		Dull	
	care about school	don't care about school	care about school	don't care about school	care about school	don't care about school	care about school	don't care about school
% of thrill seekers having many delinquent friends[a/]	9	45	50	63	44	67	50	78
% of non-thrill seekers having many delinquent friends	13	--	29	35	18	60	39	69
% of "tough guys" having many delinquent friends	20	43	60	53	62	58	75	82
% of boys not called tough having many delinquent friends	8	22	27	44	15	100	35	70
(Number of Cases)*	(68)	(16)	(27)	(33)	(54)	(14)	(45)	(40)

* Twenty-three cases were omitted from this table. Nine boys failed to receive sociometric ratings in 7th, 8th, or 9th grades (see note under Table 4), and an additional 14 were rated in the 7th grade but left school before the administration of the 8th grade questionnaires. Questions on quasi-delinquent values were not asked in the 7th grade.

[a/] See Appendix B for operational definition of "many" friends arrested.

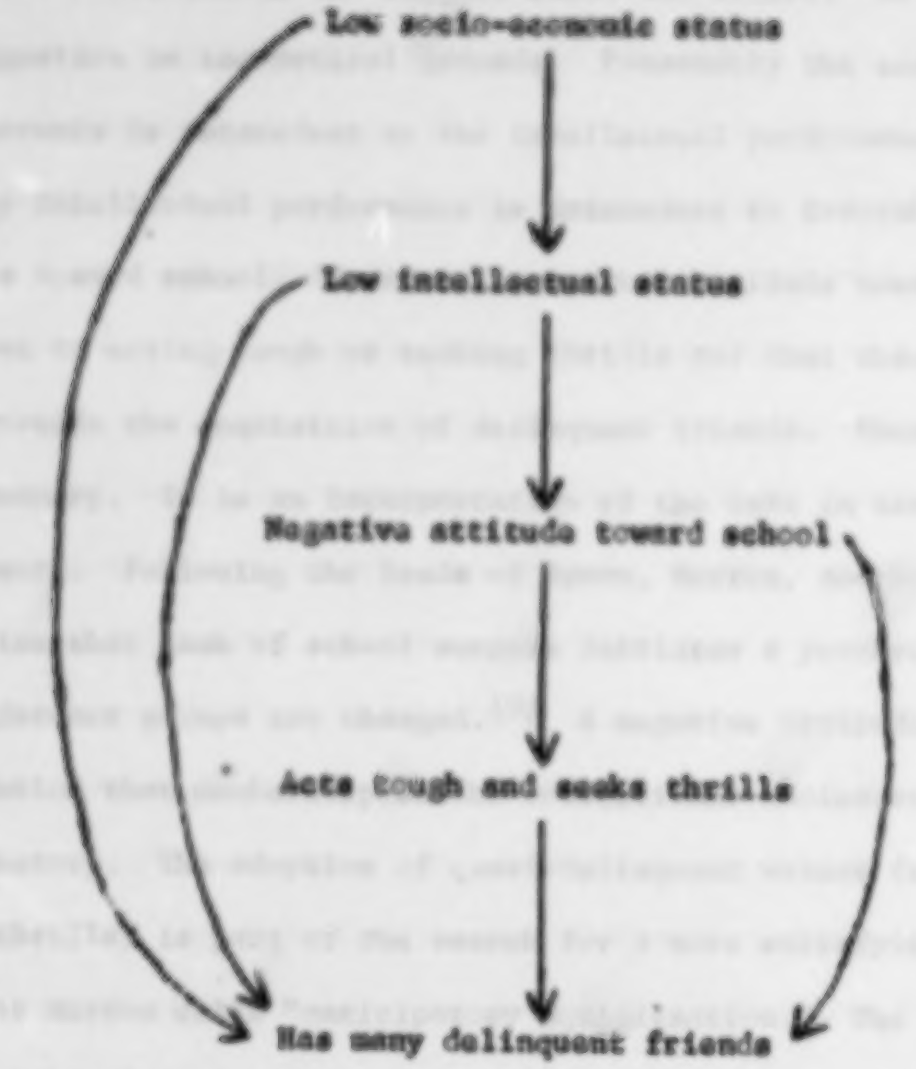
[b/] See Appendix B for operational definitions of intellectual levels. "Bright" panel members in this table include "brightest" and "bright" categories of Table 3; "dull" panel members here include "mediocre" and "dull."

Tables 8, 9, and 10 trace a rather interesting chain of causation -- when read in the context of the relationship already established in Table 3 among socio-economic background, intellectual status, and subcultural delinquency. Table 8 shows that dull panel members are much more likely than bright panel members to be perceived as not caring about school -- but *not* as being tough or thrill seeking. The absence of a relationship between intellectual status and such quasi-delinquent values as thrill seeking and acting tough puzzled us. In Table 9 we pursued the problem further by examining the relationship between caring about school and these quasi-delinquent values (with intellectual and socio-economic status held constant). Table 9 shows that not caring about school is associated with thrill seeking and acting tough. That is to say, intellectual status is related to quasi-delinquent values through an intervening relationship with an attitude toward school (caring or not caring). Table 10 adds another link to the chain; it demonstrates a relationship between quasi-delinquent values and delinquent associations. Those youngsters perceived as thrill seekers are more likely to have many delinquent friends than those not perceived as thrill seekers. Those who "act like tough guys" are more likely than those who do not to have many delinquent friends.

In short, coming from families of inferior socio-economic status and having a limited intellectual capacity leads to an unfavorable attitude toward school, and an unfavorable attitude toward school predisposes a boy to associate with delinquents.

While the foregoing statement is correct, it is not complete. The actual web of relationships linking socio-economic background, intellectual capacity, attitude toward school, and quasi-delinquent values to the arrest records of the friends of panel members is rather complicated -- as can be seen from Figure 1. The arrows indicate correlations. Needless to say, correlation

Figure 1


Low socio-economic status
Low intellectual status
Negative attitude toward school
Acts tough and seeks thrills
Has many delinquent friends

does not provide a statistical justification for assuming that one variable is causally related to another. The arrows in Figure 1 go beyond the statistical correlations and suggest cause and effect. We venture to make this suggestion on theoretical grounds. Presumably the socio-economic level of the parents is antecedent to the intellectual performance of the child and similarly intellectual performance is antecedent to favorable or unfavorable attitudes toward school. We also assume that attitude toward school is antecedent to acting tough or seeking thrills and that these quasi-delinquent values precede the acquisition of delinquent friends. Thus, Figure 1 is not a mere summary. It is an interpretation of the data in terms of reference group theory. Following the leads of Hyman, Merton, and Newcomb, we hypothesize that lack of school success initiates a process in the course of which reference groups are changed.[19] A negative attitude toward school is an indication that membership in the conventional adolescent peer group is unsatisfactory. The adoption of quasi-delinquent values (acting tough and seeking thrills) is part of the search for a more satisfying membership group. It is what Merton calls "anticipatory socialization." The "tough guys" and "thrill seekers" are not yet necessarily delinquents, but delinquent peers have become their reference group.

We must confess that our data are not fully accounted for in terms of this hypothesized shift from a conventional to a delinquent reference group. Note the arrow linking "Low socio-economic status" with "Has many delinquent friends." This means that coming from an inferior socio-economic status contributes to subcultural delinquency not only through the intervention of the chain of variables already alluded to but also directly. This conclusion follows from an examination of the relationships in Table 10. Sixteen comparisons of the percentage of delinquent friends of boys from inferior socio-economic backgrounds with boys from superior socio-economic backgrounds (intellectual level and attitudes controlled) can be made. For example, 9% of the bright boys who care about school, seek thrills, and come from a superior socio-economic level have many delinquent friends; whereas 44% of the bright boys who care about school, seek thrills, and come from an inferior socio-economic level have many delinquent friends. Of the sixteen such comparisons, fifteen of them show an inverse relationship between socio-economic level and percentage of delinquent friends. A similar argument explains the existence of an arrow directly linking "Negative attitude toward school" with "Has many delinquent friends." Of the sixteen possible comparisons between boys who care and boys who don't care about school, thirteen show that a negative attitude toward school is associated with many delinquent friends or that a positive attitude toward school is associated with few delinquent friends.

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[19] Herbert H. Hyman, The Psychology of Status, Archives of Psychology, No. 269, 1942; Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, rev. ed., Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1957, pp. 265-268; Theodore M. Newcomb, Social Psychology, New York: Dryden, 1950, pp. 240-243.

There were in the study 85 boys who left school before graduation (including 9 who left school to enter the Armed Services). It is reasonable to assume that school leavers were among the most alienated youngsters in the school population and that their delinquency histories should be among the worst. Table 11, comparing the leavers with the graduates in terms of delinquent associations, shows that the difference between leavers and graduates in the college course is considerable. (Graduates in non-college courses had similar friendship patterns to leavers, presumably because they had a similar perspective on the future.) On the other hand, leavers do not all acquire delinquent friends. Why do some school leavers submerge themselves in a delinquent subculture and others become conventional young adults? In our interviews

Table 11

The Relationship between Course in School and the Arrest Records of Friends (with socio-economic and intellectual levels held constant)

Arrest Records of Friends 1955-1960[a/]	Superior Socio-economic Status						Inferior Socio-economic Status					
	Bright[b/]			Dull			Bright			Dull		
	Coll. course grads. %	Non-coll. grads. %	Leavers %	Coll. course grads. %	Non-coll. grads. %	Leavers %	Coll. course grads. %	Non-coll. grads. %	Leavers %	Coll. course grads. %	Non-coll. grads. %	Leavers %
No friends arrested	41	24	67	50	13	13	33	13	25	-	13	4
A few friends arrested	48	47	--	30	35	37	59	37	8	100	30	31
Many friends arrested	11	29	33	20	52	50	8	50	67	-	57	65
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
(Number of Cases)*	(54)	(17)	(3)	(10)	(23)	(24)	(24)	(24)	(12)	(3)	(37)	(46)

* Forty-three boys could not be classified as "graduates" or "leavers"; 38 had moved away and 5 were still in school.

a/ See Appendix B for operational definitions of "few" and "many" friends arrested.

b/ See Appendix B for operational definitions of intellectual levels. "Bright" panel members in this table include "brightest" and "bright" categories of Table 3; "dull" panel members here include "mediocre" and "dull."

with the leavers, we collected data that bear on this question. At each interview we took an occupational history and also obtained a detailed diary of the weekend before the interview (the time allocation of the boy on the Friday, Saturday, and Sunday preceding the interview). From these materials, we observed that some leavers had settled down (meaning that they had a steady job, or a steady girl, or both), whereas others were aimlessly drifting.

Leavers who had settled down reported fewer friends, and those that they reported were less likely to be delinquent. Of course, this does not resolve the question of what caused what. Maybe the leavers with the more stable personalities were the kind of boys more likely to get steady jobs and also more likely not to acquire delinquent friends. We shall never know for sure. However, some evidence supports the hypothesis that experience subsequent to leaving school made the difference. We separated leavers who had been interviewed in D or E years into two groups: 38 with some delinquent friends and 35 with no delinquent friends in those years. (If the boy had been interviewed in both years, we categorized him on the basis of the later interview.) Then we attempted to discover whether the delinquently oriented leavers differed from those who were not delinquently oriented by comparing their allocation to "smart" and "dumb" classes in the 7th grade, their marks and conduct ratings in the 8th and 9th grades, the number of votes they received from their 8th and 9th grade classmates as not caring about school, and their self-descriptions in the 8th grade questionnaires as caring or not caring about school.

Sixty per cent of the leavers who did not have delinquent friends in D or E years had been in adjusted or special classes in the 7th grade as compared with 64 per cent of the leavers who had delinquent associates in D or E years. This small difference should be contrasted with the difference between both groups of leavers and the 7th grade boys who went on to graduate. Twelve per cent of the graduates with no delinquent friends had been in "adjusted" or "special" classes and 22% of the graduates with some delinquent friends. Similarly, the 66 per cent and 62 per cent of the two leaver groups who received marks in the 4th quartile in the 8th or 9th grades contrasted with 10% and 13% respectively among the graduates. For conduct ratings, 44% of the delinquent and 54% of the non-delinquent leavers had 8th or 9th grade ratings in the fourth quartile -- as compared with 13% of the non-delinquent and 20% of the delinquent graduates. As regards the sociometric votes in the 8th and 9th grades for not caring about school, 36% of both the non-delinquent and delinquent leavers received 5 or more votes -- as compared with 2% of the non-delinquent and 10% of the delinquent graduates. On the other hand, concerning the self-descriptions on attitudes toward school, the leavers with no delinquent friends showed intermediate characteristics as between leavers with delinquent friends and graduates. Twenty-three per cent of the non-delinquent and 53% of the delinquent leavers described themselves in the 8th grade questionnaires as not caring about school -- as compared with 9% of the non-delinquent graduates and 11% of the delinquent graduates. To sum up: the differences between the two leaver groups were (with minor exceptions) small as contrasted with the large differences between both groups and the graduates.

Unless we assume that the two leaver groups differed more drastically from one another than our measures revealed, it appears that experiences subsequent to school leaving turned some toward delinquent and others toward non-delinquent male friends. In view of the importance of work in the life of an adult male in industrial society, it seems reasonable to suspect "work adjustment" of being the critical variable. Our work history data lend some support to this suspicion. What seems to have happened is that boys moved from one unsatisfactory job to another until finally one came along that meant something, perhaps because they struck up a good relationship with the supervisor, perhaps because they needed money more than formerly in order to date a steady girl; thus they developed a commitment to the occupational sphere which gave them a stake in conformity. This stake in conformity prevented delinquent associations just as stake in conformity of the brighter students prevented delinquent associations. True, the number of cases with which we are dealing is small, and it is perilous to make generalizations from them. But there are certainly strong hints in our data that the job adjustments of leavers made a difference, that those who were lucky enough to get better jobs were more likely to settle down.

Chapter 2: THE PERSPECTIVE OF CLASSMATES

We have been saying that a boy who feels adequate in school will regard the future with hope and with confidence. Since American boys do not enter smoothly and gradually into adult life, they regard the school--and rightly so--not as a playground but as a testing-ground for the future. School achievement holds out the promise of adult success with all the bright hopes that are traditionally the property of young people in a rich and mobile society. But a boy who is a failure in school is trapped in the adolescent stage of life. Others around him are making bright plans for the future, but for him there is no future. As one respondent said: "You can't get a good job without a college education."

Most of these boys will eventually become reconciled to less than "good jobs," to hard work and small pleasures. Some boys have already made their compromises with the American Dream. But some feel envy, deprivation and, more than anything else, humiliation at not being able to make the grade. They rebel. They find friends with whom they can feel like somebody.

There are several paths to success in school, but, unfortunately, only one is relevant for the future. A boy can make a place for himself by being good at sports. He can be admired for personal attractiveness, good manners, "cool" clothes, or just for being a friendly guy. Personal charm, modesty, an interest in other people and in the welfare of the school, athletic ability, all these qualities make a boy popular, and he is accorded high status in the school if he possesses them. But there is a very real awareness that status based on peer group values is temporary, that it won't get a boy far in adult society. And it is in adult society in which these youngsters know they must live. Contrary to a popular belief among social scientists, the future as well as the ephemeral present is of major concern to adolescents. Peer group success, by itself, is not reassuring. As we documented statistically in the previous chapter, high status boys who are not intellectually successful are at least as likely as low status boys to seek companions with delinquency records.

Six High School Graduates with a Future

Two good students

A boy who is an academic success is almost sure to achieve high status at school. But even if he fails to achieve high status, he will not seek out delinquent companions. Such a boy can hardly escape being a "wheel." John was such a boy. Easily the brain of the class of 1960, he was not an athlete; he had some characteristics that irritated his classmates, yet he was accorded high status among them because "he is so smart that we feel he will do what is best for the school."

There are no low status boys with brilliant scholastic records, but Jim comes close to representing this type. A brilliant boy, his manner was so arrogant and contemptuous of others--according to the reports of his classmates--that many disliked and resented him. In the seventh and eighth grades he was a high status member of the class, but his relations with his classmates deteriorated to middle status in ninth and twelfth. It is interesting that while his relations with the class as a whole deteriorated, he remained a member of the same clique throughout the five years of the study. His self-respect was not damaged. He felt no need to seek recognition elsewhere. Perhaps good marks were recognition enough. He continued throughout his high school career to be close friends with the most-likely-to-succeed group, good students, none of whom had ever been in trouble with the law. Let us see how the class perceived John and Jim, two types of smart boys.

John was named "smartest, most intelligent" boy by 62 boys and 66 girls in the senior class. He won a trip to Europe for his scholastic ability. As early as the seventh grade, a fellow student said of him:

> He's very smart, something like Professor Einstein. He always gets A's.

Others noted his scholastic ability:

> He's a brain. He catches on to something new like fire catches on to wood.
>
> He is the editor-in-chief of the school newspaper and is probably the most intelligent boy in the ninth grade.

Some perceived his attitude toward school, his commitment to scholastic success:

> He takes low marks very badly, but there aren't very many.
>
> He realizes school is a place in which to work and learn. He takes it seriously and makes the most of it.
>
> He takes his work very seriously. He can be lots of fun, but he doesn't let it get in the way of his marks.

Through his reputation for intelligence, John came to be a leader in the class:

> John is very smart and level-headed. That is why whenever he suggests something, the other kids usually go along with it.
>
> He is very smart and people respect him.
>
> Most of the students trust him. They know whatever he does for the school, he'll do well. They know it will benefit most of the students.
>
> The students respect his judgment and he has developed outstanding leadership qualities.

It is almost inevitable that a giant such as this among his peers should be disliked for being "stuck up." His name, however, was never associated with deviant characteristics such as thrill seeking, not caring about school, or acting tough. This is what his critics said of him:

> He is intelligent, but very much obsessed with himself. He is so positive that he will do everything correctly that he doesn't work to his capacity. At times he degrades his fellow students, which fact makes me feel strongly against him.
>
> Grades seem to be most important to him. He does his best to brownie up to the teachers so as to get A+'s instead of A's. He just isn't likeable.

> He looks down his nose at everyone and talks to you like he was king. He is also very adept at talking behind people's back.

To sum up, John was a brilliant student with a brilliant future. His classmates voted him one of the two "most ambitious" boys in the class, one of the two "most likely to succeed" and one of the two "most sophisticated." His friends were all boys who were likely to succeed. He is at present a sophmore at Rutgers.

Jim, a short, thin, winsome boy in 1955, knew then that he wanted to be a surgeon. His father is a prominent local lawyer. Even in the eighth grade, he reported that he expected all his friends to go to college, and they have all done so. (Jim himself is now at college, taking a pre-medical course.) The picture that Jim's classmates drew of him was in many ways an unpleasant one. He was described as selfish, critical, a braggart, domineering. In the face of these unpleasant character traits, serious enough to cost Jim a position of high status in the school, his circle of close friends included (throughout the study) the same group of high status, academically successful boys. These boys were apparently held together by shared values. They were all looking ahead to adult life.

Here are some typical remarks about Jim, unpopular with his classmates, but destined for success:

Selfish...

> Jim does things for himself instead of the class.
>
> Jim does everything not for the good of the class, but for the good of Jim. He is two-faced; he says one thing and does another. He thinks the world revolves around him.

Conceited, a braggart...

> He's always bragging about himself. Just because he is better off than someone else, he looks down on them.
>
> He is conceited because he is smart. Some kids tell him he is smart and that only makes him more conceited and therefore better than the others.

> After his father bought him a Triumph TR-3, all he can do is ride around town.
>
> He is emotionally immature, yet tries to act sophisticated. He feels that he is better than anyone else, and is quite prejudiced. It is about time he grew up and realized that other people are just as good as he is.
>
> He goes around bragging about his father who is a lawyer, his big cousin in the ninth grade who gets star honor cards, etc. He gets very good marks and if it wasn't for gym and hygiene, he also would get star honor cards. (I'm glad he doesn't.)

Domineering...

> He tries to boss people around.
>
> He's a smart student and very easy to get along with if you do what he says.

This is how one of the more articulate members of the class summed up Jim's image:

> Through self-consciousness or unsureness, he attempts to smoke, act big and cynical, ridiculing and deriding others' opinions. He is a "tough guy" of an educated nature who accomplishes his "beating up" by derision of others, by defiance (without principles or alternate suggestions) of authority.

Two popular boys

Perhaps less flamboyantly gifted than John or Jim, though still highly intelligent and extremely good students were Robert and George. They stand in contrast to John and Jim in that they tried harder to be well liked. Even the usual jealous remarks of "stuck up" and "conceited" were uncommon in the cases of Robert and George. They were both very popular, high status boys, and they worked at it. They had the politician's common touch. Robert was class president in both junior and senior years, a hard working, serious-minded student, somewhat athletic, often described as quiet. He was voted "most respected," "most sincere," and "seen but not heard." Let his friends speak:

> He is an intelligent person and has won the history award that will be presented to him at graduation from junior high. He competed against very intelligent people in the ninth grade.

> He is an excellent student and a very good person to have as a friend. He doesn't brag about how well he does in school. He also isn't stuck up. Sometimes he is very shy.
>
> He studies hard and is a good guy.
>
> He is quiet in class and pays attention. He always does his homework. He never wastes a minute.
>
> He doesn't brag about anything and he doesn't try to be a big shot.
>
> He is handsome, has a nice personality, and is always willing to help.
>
> He can get along with almost all the fellows.
>
> He is cool, calm, and collective [sic]. He is handsome but doesn't go much for girls. You can always depend upon him. He is very intelligent, but he also is very modest.
>
> He is the kind of kid that other kids will listen to because he is liked by many, and he is the understanding kind of person who listens to other people's opinions.
>
> An excellent student and athlete. Really all around. He is very shy and doesn't boast of his accomplishments.
>
> He cares about other people.
>
> He is quiet, refined, dignified, pleasant, friendly, smart, athletic.
>
> He remains quiet when others are disrupting the class. He never criticizes in a way which would hurt someone's feelings. He is a gentleman.
>
> I like him because I am able to admire him. He's very smart, but isn't a bookworm. He's good-looking, but isn't conceited. He's influential, but doesn't take advantage of it. *Most of all he has a future.* [italics ours]

George had a future too. A light Negro with a deep voice and a ready smile, he is in college now. Although most Negro boys in our study had some delinquent friends, George's friends were "good" boys who had never been in trouble. His classmates saw him as a friendly, popular boy, perhaps more outgoing than Robert. The dominant tone among the very many comments made about George was one of warmth, warmth in the way he treated people as individuals, warmth in the way he behaved toward the class as a whole.

For example:

> He likes everybody and treats them with respect. He's always ready to help you if you ask him to.
>
> George is the all-American type of boy. He always has a smile and a nice word for everyone.
>
> He is someone who will listen to your problems and try to help you. At least, he tried to help me.

He was not snobbish or domineering:

> He is popular because he is easygoing, not a snob, and he is smart and understanding. He is well liked by everyone and he likes everyone.
>
> He has the ability to lead a group without seeming to be bossy about it. He is one of the nicest boys I know. Ask anyone and they'll tell you the same thing.
>
> He suggests things in such a way that you feel you helped too.
>
> George is a boy that everyone likes in spite of his race. He makes everyone feel they really can help and that they are wanted to be his friend.
>
> This boy is able to put himself on the level of the students with whom he is speaking.

He was an attractive boy--good looking, nice personality, well-mannered, well-dressed:

> George, because of his out-going personality, has a great deal of influence in the school. He has been class president two years and vice-president of the Student Council. He is a Negro, but he has better manners and behavior than many white people. He is well-groomed. He has a pleasant speaking voice. He is a good leader, and he is very intelligent.

To top it all off, he was an athlete and a good student. All these traits, intelligence, charm, and an ability to keep it from going to his head made George a real leader. His classmates' most usual way of expressing it was, "We respect him."

> George is a Negro who has earned the highest respect from all students. He is very well dressed at all times and carries himself about in a proud yet well-mannered way. George is also an excellent speaker and a very well-informed, intelligent person.

> George is a nice guy. He was president of our junior class. Many students have respect for him and go along with what he thinks. I think people would agree with him on most anything.
>
> George is a responsible leader, a well-liked person, and a very intelligent boy. He has a terrific personality. He is one of the few Negro people who, I believe, the white people have respect for. He holds quite a few school offices. He's an all-around guy.
>
> He displays confidence in his actions and relays this to the other students. George is a very likeable person and attracts many students.
>
> He has shown that skin color doesn't matter. It's the person who does.
>
> George is popular, I believe, because of his bright, clear thinking, and because he is not out to create an appearance of superiority, something he could do.
>
> I know a lot of people who admire him and will do almost anything he does.
>
> He has a casual and appealing nature. He is a very good speaker. He can make you laugh and relax, which is a good thing sometimes. He has varied interests, which make him well rounded. He is not at all stuck up, truly makes you feel you are on the same plane as he.

A twelfth-grade girl paid him the ultimate compliment:

> He's the kind of man I want for a husband some day.

The class leader

Sam is another example of a high-status boy who was committed to success as a student. He is a particularly interesting case because, unlike John, Jim, Robert or George, he had a large proportion of delinquent friends throughout his high school years. In the ninth grade, more than half of his friends were boys who had a police record. He himself was never in any trouble with the police. Though he associated with delinquent boys, he never shared their values. His reference group was always the group of boys who were committed to school success. Finally, in his senior year, he dropped most of his delinquent friends and began to associate with boys who were oriented to the adult world.

Why Sam's early associations were with delinquents is difficult to determine. Perhaps it was because he grew up in a poor neighborhood. Nevertheless, when he was interviewed in the eighth grade, he said that he expected to go to college and that he was interested either in psychiatry or in a career in the Marine Corps after college. Even then, he was classified by the interviewer as responsive, poised, alert. He has since made the most of these qualities. During his sophmore year he won several honors in national oratorical contests. When he was a senior, he was elected president of the Student Council, the highest office in the school. He was voted "most courteous," "most respected," "most school spirited," "most sincere," "most ambitious," and "most likely to succeed."

As documentation of the statement that Sam never shared the values of the hoodlum types he associated with, here are some statements from his classmates during his junior high school years. They show that he was never perceived as a bad boy.

> Sam is one of the nicest boys I know. He talks and acts in a nice manner. He doesn't act like a tough guy all the time.
>
> He is considerate.
>
> Sam is a nice kid to be around. He is fun, but is not out for thrills and excitement all the time.

Furthermore, he always did well in school:

> He's smart. He takes part in a lot of extra-curricular activities. He is captain of Safety Patrol, homeroom governor, and a member of the dramatics club.
>
> He says, "First work, then play."
>
> He is easy going, but still does well in school.
>
> He studies hard and gets good marks. He is an all-around popular kid.

In senior high, the comments centered around Sam's leadership ability. Perceived as the most influential boy in the class, he was described not as a "hood" but as a "gentleman." There are numerous remarks about his "fabulous personality," his friendliness, his scholastic ability. But as might have been expected, it was in his role as Student Council president that he impressed most students. This is what they said about the way he handled himself and the way he influenced them:

> As president of the Student Council Sam has a lot of responsibilities which he handles intelligently, and the students respect his opinions and ideas.
>
> Most of the important decisions of our school pass through his hands. I think he has good judgment and most of the kids think they can count on his opinions.
>
> He is Student Council president and is respected in his decisions. This should be so because he makes them wisely.
>
> He has a lot of influence on how our school runs. He helps us get things from the principal that ordinarily he /the principal/ would not approve.
>
> When he has an idea or makes a suggestion it is usually a sensible one. He thinks things through, and he does all he can for the student body as a whole.
>
> Sam is a smart fellow. He has plenty of common sense to help him in deciding the answers to various problems that arise. He thinks sensibly; he doesn't dream up any wild ideas.
>
> He is able to express himself easily and get his point across to the other students.
>
> He is a hard worker willing to fight for his ideas.
>
> He is an interesting speaker. He is not merely doing a job, but he is interested in improving our school. Although he was not my selection for Student Council president, I believe he has done an outstanding job.
>
> Holding the office of Student Council president supplies Sam with additional influence and power besides his own. His drive, desire, and interest are vigorous and honest ones, making him influential. His work is usually well done and affects other people.
>
> I have known Sam for a good number of years and have found that he has always had the good leadership quality that students will respect.

Sam was persuasive. Most students were willing to be persuaded by him, but some resented it and regarded him as something of a demagogue. Hear them both:

The willing majority...

> Sam is a very intelligent person who is much smarter than the average senior boy. He can talk anyone into almost anything.
>
> He is a good talker and is liked by most students. He seems to act intelligently, therefore making other people feel dependent on him.
>
> The way he talks makes you feel that he is right and you should go along with him.
>
> If he wants an amendment passed, most of the time it will be passed. He is a very good speaker and he can get his point across very well.
>
> He can persuade people to do what he wants to do.
>
> I think of him as a father and others do also. He is a born leader.
>
> If he suggests anything to the student body, most of us will go along with him.
>
> He is a good speaker and seems to know what he is talking about. When he is voicing an opinion he brings you to his side of the question.
>
> Most of the kids have faith that what he says is right.
>
> He is the Student Council president, and what he asks of the students, he usually gets.

The unwilling minority...

> When he says something, the majority don't even bother to listen to the details--therefore, in a sense, he is influential.
>
> Many times we have no other choice but to be influenced by him.
>
> Sam is a leader, but does nothing else well. He does not know where to lead, but he does know how. He has no understanding of values. He can rally anyone to his cause even if it is a most ridiculous one. He charms with his voice and position all who need to follow.

An athlete with a purpose

Bill was not an ordinary high school athlete. For most star athletes, sports is an extra-curricular activity; for Bill it was a career. Bill Starr has already achieved success. Before graduating from high school, he received a contract with a major league baseball team at a fabulous salary. Even in the eighth grade he was a tall, well-developed boy, deep-voiced, very masculine-looking in a graceful way. Barely 14 years of age, he told the interviewer that he had set his sights on a baseball career with a major league.

He could have concentrated all his energies on developing his athletic abilities. It is, indeed, surprising that he did not do this, considering that his physical abilities far outshone his intellectual ones. His teachers rated him "low average" in intellectual level. It must have been with great effort that he maintained his better-than-average grades in junior high school. In senior high, he fell below the median but graduated, nevertheless, in the college course with the intention of going to college if his career with a major league should not materialize. Back in the eighth grade he stated his determination to go to college "if I don't get a good enough offer from a baseball team." His career choices were in physical education or engineering. He had many friends through the years, only one of whom had been in trouble with the law.

There was such consensus about Bill's athletic ability that it hardly seems necessary to quote from the hundreds of comments paying tribute to his "good pitching arm," or his success in all major school sports. He was seen, in addition, as a boy who possessed good looks and a nice personality. Some called him conceited; others said he was modest. Some said he was a good student; others said he was not. More often they described him as an "average" or "fairly good" student. Perhaps most significant of all is the fact that of the tremendous number of comments made about Bill, the only negative comments came from those who called him "conceited." (Many felt that he was not conceited.) Not one hint could be found of anti-social attitudes or non-conformist behavior. None of his classmates described him as not caring about school. They called him a "nice, clean kid who stays out of trouble." He was an "all-American type boy" who dressed "Ivy League," not in a black leather jacket. It was partly because he was a "good" boy that Bill was popular:

> He is a medium-sized boy who can do everything well. He has a lot of friends, and I think he is admired by everyone.
>
> Bill is a nice clean kid. He is full of fun and likes to do things that other people like to do. He also is a good athlete but this doesn't give him a big head.
>
> Bill is average. His talk fits in. He is friendly and liked by just about everyone.
>
> He is a nice kid. He can play sports very well. He knows how to get along with other people. He never gets into trouble. He has good grades.
>
> He is well-liked by everyone who knows him and works hard to keep his marks above average so he can stay with his sports. He is well-liked outside of school as well as in school.
>
> Bill is on all the athletic teams, does not brag about it, and can assume leadership nicely. He is also good at studies and is very popular with both the boys and the girls. He has a sense of humor.
>
> He is a pretty important boy in school with his fine athletic ability, and he usually knows how far to go without overdoing it.
>
> He is good looking, good in sports, and gets along with everybody. He is a good sport and fun. He does OK in his subjects and gets along all right with his teachers.

He was the all-American type boy:

> Good-looking, clean, nice and lots of fun. You'd be proud to be seen with him. He's a good all-American boy.
>
> He's the college type boy who also goes out for sports and is very popular.
>
> He is an all-American type of boy. He is not a wolf but sticks around with boys who are also very nice. He keeps

good company and he is also good company to be with.

> He is a very collegiate-like boy. He has wonderful taste in clothes. He is not out for any pick-ups. He picks nice, clean girls.

He was not "wise" or tough:

> Bill is nice; he could probably get along with anyone. He's not the bossy type, or the tough guy either.
>
> Whatever he says, people know is usually right and go along with him. People do not take him for a bum. He is very nice to all and would not get anyone into trouble on purpose.
>
> He is friendly to everyone and always has something nice to say. He is not a wise guy. He doesn't try an act like a wise guy around girls.
>
> He is a lot of fun, and he is not a boy who will act wise.

While many students emphasized that Bill was not "wild," or "tough" or in any other way rebellious against authority, others stressed the positive side of the picture, pointing up his commitment to adult values. They called him "sensible" and "hard working":

> He is a good boy and good in his subjects.
>
> He is very studious.
>
> He tries to do good in school. He is the quiet type, and seems very sensible to me.
>
> He has a very level head.
>
> He does his work first and then plays for sport.
>
> He likes to have a lot of fun, (but) he is a hard worker.
>
> He pays attention to class. He never talks in class, keeps his mind on his work.

One senior high school girl regretted that Bill was "not as carefree as other boys," but added that "nevertheless he is one of the nicest boys I've ever met." Indeed, Bill was not the happy-go-lucky young man having a good time in high school, capitalizing right now on his astonishing athletic success and publicity, perhaps because he felt that each game he won by brilliant pitching took him closer to his goal. The writeups in the next day's newspapers and the cheers of his classmates were not what he was aiming for; he was carving out a career for himself that would determine the course of his life. One of his classmates noted that Bill was gloomy for a week after he lost a game. Perhaps this adult-like striving explains why Bill was described in such grown-up terms. An example is the following testimonial from a twelfth grade girl, who regarded Bill as a role model:

> Bill is the type of person that is liked by all. He is a very honest and truthful person. He is respected by both male and female. He is the type of person you feel you want to be.

Indeed, the word "respect" was a favorite term for describing adult behavior. Not the devil-may-care youngster, but the serious, devoted student, striving and achieving, was called "respectful." He, in turn, was respected by his peers.

> He is very well mannered, and treats everyone with respect.
>
> He takes part in many school acitivities. He's shy, respects the teachers, and is a nice person to know.
>
> He has respect for girls, which most boys don't have.
>
> He is quiet and a very nice guy. He is a pitcher, quarterback, and plays basketball too. He is respected and has influence.

In still other ways, these high school boys and girls underlined Bill's personality and behavior as being at the opposite pole from the easy-going teen-ager having his last fling before settling down. He was quiet, and he was shy:

> He's very quiet and more on the bashful side. He's a gentleman.
>
> He is quiet but not too quiet.
>
> He isn't a loud person and usually knows what he is doing.
>
> He's shy unless he knows you well, but he'll always smile.

> He seems serious most of the time.
>
> He has a wonderful personality, is interested in people, a little shy, though, and very popular among the boys and girls.

He was polite:

> He is good looking and polite. He seems to know when something has its limit.
>
> He's polite and doesn't swear. He always seems anxious to do good, and I'd say he has very good sense.
>
> Bill is quiet, polite, and friendly. He has gained much notoriety in the newspapers for his ability to play baseball, and still he is not at all conceited. He always has a bright smile, and is soft-spoken and intelligent. He is a sincere person.

Perhaps the characteristic which, more than any other, stood for real maturity was "kindness to others" and "considerateness." Some students described Bill in this way:

> He is considerate and has very good manners. He is a very pleasant person to be with.
>
> I like Bill because of the way he treats others. He is nice to everyone and always has a kind word for everyone. Also, he tries to help others in any way that he can.
>
> Bill is a level-headed person who is friendly and easy to talk to. He is generous with the things he has; he is considerate of other people's feelings, and he is a person you can depend upon for help and advice.

Four Graduates without a Future

An athlete without a purpose

Tom was also an outstanding athlete. Like the boys we have been describing, he was a high-status member of the class, popular, well-liked, a leader. He was voted "most popular" in the class, "heartbreaker," "everybody's pal," and the boy with the "best personality." He was the embodiment of peer-group values.

He also proved that peer group values are not enough. Unlike the above mentioned boys, Tom was successful only in the area of the strictly peer-group activities. For Bill baseball represented a career; Tom, on the other hand, played his last football game on Thanksgiving Day of 1960. John, Bob, and George achieved high status through proven intellectual ability. Together with Sam and Jim, they were looking forward to college and a professional career. Tom, on the other hand, was a poor student. He failed to graduate with his class, although he did come back to get his diploma a year late.

His friends, as one twelfth grade girl put it, were "the masses, because the masses are those who are in school because they have to be. He is not popular with many college-prep seniors but mostly with the others and there are a lot of them." As early as the eighth grade, Tom admitted to dropping a friend because "he's gotten real clean. He don't curse or nothing. He used to be a lot of fun but he doesn't have it in him any more. We don't see one another any more." Through the high school years, he named among his close friends five boys (including his brother) who had been in trouble with the police. They were arrested for offenses from malicious mischief to selling firearms, breaking and entering, and rape. Two were put on probation for two to three year terms.

His friends were loyal, and he had many admirers who spoke of his good looks, athletic ability, his personality and friendliness. It is also clear that Tom was more interested in good times today than for the help school would give him tomorrow. This is what one senior girl said of him:

> He doesn't worry about a thing, especially school. He smokes, drinks and stays out till all hours. Going to dance halls, smoky and crowded, is a regular practice with him. He does a dance called the slop all the time. He never studies and is very unconcerned about everything except himself, girls, and a good time.

Others noticed that Tom didn't care about school:

> He doesn't care about his schoolwork. He don't care if he passes or not and just goes out and has his good time.
>
> He is always clowning around and never seems to be very serious about anything. He never does any homework. He says he doesn't need to go to school.
>
> He doesn't care about school. He looks for the good times. He just goes to school because he has to. And he doesn't do any work if he don't have to.
>
> He gets into trouble sometimes. I guess you'd just call him happy-go-lucky.

Some students were perceptive enough to see that Tom was not merely careless and carefree, that he cared enough to expend a good deal of energy to impress some people. True, he could not impress the "more intelligent" members of the class, but there were some teen-agers with other values:

> He is popular not to me, but to his "clique." He can sway them with his actions. This clique is not one of the more intelligent. Their actions are those of young teen-agers. The boy who is the "wisest" (derogatory) is the leader.
>
> He is just looking to get attention and doesn't care how he does it.
>
> He is trying to impress people.
>
> Everything to this fellow is all a big joke. He never acts his age. He'll do just about anything to attract attention.
>
> I personally do not care for this person, nor do I even take notice of him except in disgust. Mainly he is popular because of the attention he draws through his action, remarks, and general sloppy appearance. To some I imagine he appears daring and handsome.

Furthermore, there were students who considered this popular boy a hoodlum type, a tough.

> I'm very sure he is out for no good. Outside of school he has a bad personality. He is always in cars racing. He drinks and smokes. He has a very mean disposition.

> He pushes people around. When seen in the hall, his collar is usually up by his ears and he seems to amble along. His personality is all right but his personal appearance gives the impression of toughness.
>
> His general appearance makes me think of him as a tough guy. His attitude and manner of speaking. He uses slang (which isn't unusual) but to such an extent that it is rude and, at times, vulgar.
>
> His whole attitude reflects boredom. He is the typical "hood."

The following comments summed up the picture of Tom, the "typical athlete" and representative of the "senseless crowd" as opposed to those who had some purpose:

> Tommy is one of the guys who is always out for a good time. He has to be like all the rest of the crowd and act as senseless as the rest.
>
> Tom is the typical athlete, not mean or selfish, or really tough, just thoughtless. He does not consider others and seems always to be acting tough when he's run out of conversation.

Two rebels without a cause

Joe was another boy who always had many friends, among them a much larger proportion of delinquents than any of the boys we have described thus far. He had "high average" mental ability, according to his teachers, and in junior high school his marks were above the median for the class as a whole.

Even in junior high school days, however, Joe felt there was not future in school for him. But he kept hoping. When he was interviewed in the eighth grade, he said he would like to go to college and was, in fact, taking the college course, but he was doubtful that he would ever be able to afford it. His father had died while Joe was in the lower grades, and he lived in a low-cost housing project. He said, revealingly, that he might even leave high school before graduation to join the Air Force because he would like "to be on the first rocket that goes to the moon or any other planet."

Unable to escape to the moon, he stuck it out in high school, graduating in the general course and paying as little attention to school as possible. By this time he had no illusions; there was nothing in it for him no matter how hard he studied. His grades from ninth grade on were far below his ability, and he listed among his friends during the five years of junior and senior high school eighteen boys who had been under arrest. One might say that he majored in fast cars, loose friends, and annoying the teachers. He himself was picked up by the police four times. Joe was a smart, likeable boy who went down the drain because he had no stake in conformity.

Joe's classmates were very critical of his lack of ambition, his carefree clownish attitude, his penchant for making trouble in and out of school. Although it is unreasonable to expect Joe's classmates to appreciate his hopelessness, nevertheless there is unintentional cruelty in a remark like this one:

> He doesn't want to go to college and would be happy with a laborer's job after high school.

Only one student, a twelfth grade boy, had a glimmer of what it is like to be Joe:

> He doesn't care about school because there is no interest in it at home. He is free to [indulge] his whims.

On the other hand, a number of students observed that Joe had some potentialities beneath his devil-may-care exterior:

> He's a nice kid, but he just don't try to do the work. He don't do the work and tries to be a comedian. He doesn't choose very good friends and gets himself into a bit of trouble because of this.
>
> He's unique inasmuch as he regards life as a laugh. He's not dumb or childish and, when he wants to be, very smart. But he just doesn't take life in general seriously.
>
> I believe he has a good potential hidden beneath his exterior of smart alekyness. Often he displays his insolence and refuses to settle down for the common good. He dares to do such things as steal a jeep on a trip.

Much more common, however, were the clearly critical statements, emphasizing, first, that Joe was a nuisance:

> He has a loud mouth and doesn't know when to shut up. He's always making a fool of himself in class.
>
> He doesn't care about school. He has no respect for his teachers and he doesn't like to work.
>
> His frequent absence and his poor behavior when attending school, all make me feel he does not care about school.
>
> He talks back to teachers, tries to bully the kids, and in general is extremely fresh to all.
>
> He is late to class quite frequently and then he gives the teacher a hard time. When a teacher yells at him, it has no effect on him.
>
> He is constantly roaming in the halls, being called into the office, and getting low and failing marks.

Some comments reflected the fact that he got into trouble in and out of school:

> He acts tough with some of the boys. He is sort of a leader. He gets into trouble for disturbing the class and he gets into trouble sometimes on the outside too.
>
> He is always getting into trouble with the teachers. When something bad happens you can be sure he had something to do with it.
>
> He always talks back to the teachers and is just acting smart all the time. He even lost his license for driving like a maniac.
>
> He spends his spare time drag-racing, getting into trouble, and anything else destructive.

Some few comments went so far as to call Joe "unbalanced":

> He probably has a complex because his actions are definitely that of someone unbalanced.
>
> He can't seem to act like someone his own age should. He's too young mentally to be in high school.

Steve was also a boy with "high average" mental ability but no motivation to do well in school. In junior high, he made better than average grades, but in senior high he was in the lowest quartile of the class. As his grades went down, his association with delinquent boys went up. By the time he was in the twelfth grade, of the nine boys he mentioned as close friends, seven had had a police record. Steve, himself, had no police record until the summer before his senior year. During this year, however, he managed to be picked up by the police four times, twice for disorderly conduct, once for loitering, and once for trespassing with intent to steal.

When he was interviewed in the eighth grade, Steve said he expected to go to college to study electrical engineering. "What can you do if you don't go to college"? he remarked. The following year, however, he had changed his mind. He had switched to the business course to prepare to go into his father's business, selling and servicing certain appliances. "He knows that when he gets out of school his father will take care of him," said a twelfth grade boy in explanation of why Steve didn't care whether he did well in school or not.

Whatever the reason, Steve was perceived by a number of his classmates as a boy who didn't care about school, who was interested instead in good times, thrills, and excitement. He was voted "most frequent office visitor." A good-looking boy, he seemed to want to give the impression of being a tough guy:

> He struts around with his collar up and his pants hanging around his hips. He is always telling people about the wrong things he did.
>
> He bosses the other students around.
>
> He wears his hair long and falling in his face, tight pants and a comb hanging out of his pocket. He makes little comments to the teacher and other students. He thinks going to the attendance office, getting tickets for speeding, or losing his license are all big laughs.
>
> He always has a cigarette in his mouth and gets these real wild ideas.
>
> He walks around with a chip on his shoulder and whenever anyone says anything to him he is ready for an argument.

2

He had no respect for authority...

> He smart talks the teachers. He acts like he's a gift sent from heaven.
>
> Steve acts wise and smart. He is rude and ungentlemanly. He answers the teachers back and has no respect for authority.

He didn't care about his schoolwork...

> He always seems to be in trouble. He makes no attempt to help himself by doing his homework or asking the teachers for outside of classroom assistance.
>
> He is just about flunking every course. He's a slob. He acts like a big hood.
>
> He thinks that he is the best student in school, does not like to study, aggravates the teachers and homeroom officers, generally does not pay attention to anything said or shown.
>
> He never gets good marks. He never studies or attempts to. He spends more time hotrodding and going out with girls than with schoolwork.
>
> He needs to make some kind of an impression, so, pretending he doesn't care and enjoying everything he does is probably one way to draw attention (other than his big car).
>
> Steve is a nice kid but doesn't care for school. He'd rather be out with the guys having a good time. He seems to enjoy doing things he can brag about.
>
> He does poorly in his subjects, talks "big", always anxious for something different, hotrodding, using foul language, etc.
>
> Steve, for one thing, hardly ever has his homework done. This means one thing. He is never home to do it. He thinks life is a great ball.
>
> He doesn't care if he fails his tests. Most of the time he will crack a joke during a lesson.

He went around with a tough crowd and got into trouble himself...

> He's always getting into trouble and just doesn't seem to care.
>
> He acts tough because that's the type of crowd he goes around with. He's in trouble a good deal of the time.

> He hangs around with a tough crowd and does things you aren't supposed to do.

He thought he was "God's gift to women"...

> Steve walks around the school halls like he owns the place. He believes in the idea, "Here I am, girls." (As you gathered, I am not one of his fan club.)
>
> He is always kidding around with the girls at school. Personally, I don't like boys like him.

He cared about one thing: the flashy red car his father gave him...

> He's a real cool cat, so he thinks. He rides around in a 1960 Fury which he already smashed up once.
>
> He has a big car, so he thinks he knows everything. Whenever you want him you can always find him in the attendance office.
>
> He never does his homework, so he has time to ride around in a flashy red car.

A case of low intelligence

Nick had been in trouble with the police since the beginning of this study. Between 1955 and 1957 he committed eight offenses including larceny, riding in a stolen vehicle, and assaulting his mother. He received a suspended sentence to the State Home for Boys and was put on probation for four years. In 1957, after violating probation, he was sent to the Diagnostic Center as an inpatient. Three months later, still under probation, he was recalled from the Diagnostic Center. His probation expired in July, 1959. In December of that year he was indicted, with another 18-year-old, for breaking into a cabin and stealing shotguns, rifles, and pistols worth $639.

His friends, since early junior high days, were boys with police records. Of eight boys whom Nick named as his friends in 1955, 1956, 1957, and 1958, six were delinquents. It is interesting that, suddenly during his junior and senior years, Nick seemed to have taken up with some new non-delinquent friends. Two twelfth grade girls noticed this change:

> He used to be of a questionable character (about two years ago), but this year he got in with a good group of fellows and became well-liked by all.

> He has made mistakes in the past and is now trying to make up for them. He needs friends.

Did Nick really turn over a new leaf? It seems doubtful, particularly in view of the fact that during this period of "reform" he was arrested for breaking and entering. In addition, Nick faced some problems which he could overcome only with very great effort. First, his home situation was full of problems. His parents were separated. At one point, in 1957, his mother was living upstairs with Nick, his father downstairs, alone. It was during this period that Nick's mother made a complaint against him to the juvenile court, charging that Nick had hit her (as he had seen his father do).

Probably the most important single factor, however, in pushing Nick toward anti-social behavior was his own inability to compete in the classroom. Nick, an extremely attractive boy, "a living doll," as one girl put it, had limited mental ability. Somehow, he managed to graduate with his class, but even with hard work he never would have been outstanding. He took his success where he found it, among girls who were attracted by his good looks and among boys who admired his courage. This is what they said:

> Most boys looked up to his nerve to tell the teachers off. He always did things he wanted to do and asked people to go along with him.
>
> He is good looking and has many friends, including girl friends.
>
> I'm crazy about the guy. He is so cute, he's a living doll.
>
> He likes to live dangerously, I think. He likes to be in the fast-moving part of just about anything. When you go out with him, you can be sure of having a good, exciting time.
>
> Everyone does what he wants them to because they like his ideas and thoughts.
>
> He is always talking about these great courageous things he does. From other kids I've talked with, most of them are true.

To most of the students, however, Nick's need to compensate for his failure in school was looked upon with disgust. He was perceived as conceited and a bully:

> He doesn't care about his work and always gives the teachers a hard time. The big bully!
>
> He thinks he's all it.
>
> He's a bully. He beats up his mother.
> He's a slob. He beats everyone up.
>
> He is a filthy slob who goes around beating up everyone.
>
> He thinks he's the tops and anyone who does not go along with him is a nobody. He cares for nothing but himself and acts that way in school. He is the type of guy who loves to stand in a corner and make snide remarks.
>
> He thinks he is quite a guy. Frequently he talks big. Also he is disrespectful toward the teachers.
>
> I've dated him and don't have any respect for him or his friends.
>
> He goes over the Island practically every Saturday night. He has been in and out of jail twice already. He even drinks during lunch period in school. He's just no good.
>
> He thinks he is the only one on earth. He thinks that the women could not get along without him, but they can.
>
> He is a tough and wise guy. He always tries to act smart and conceited and he personally thinks he is someone outstanding. He just isn't my idea of a friendly or popular boy in high school.

Four Leavers

Two leavers without goals

The last four cases are of boys who dropped out of school before graduation. Leaving is not usually a sudden decision, nor is there usually a specific reason for dropping out. Most boys quit, not because of economic necessity, but because this is the last step of a gradual process of alienation with school and everything it stands for. But leaving school often makes matters worse. A boy finds his feelings of inadequacy intensified when he discovers that only the most menial, lowest-status jobs are open to boys who fail to finish high school.

As might be expected, the leaver group has more than its share of delinquent boys. Fred was one of them. He had been arrested twice, once in the summer of 1957 and again in May of 1960, a year and a half after having left school. He was picked up that time in a gang brawl. He had delinquent friends from early junior high school days to the present time.

Fred, like Nick, was a dull boy who never could compete in intellectual activities. He admitted, in the eighth grade, to being "bored with school." While he never aspired to a college education, he said he wanted to finish high school and join the Navy or Marines as an electrician or road-building engineer. He was a chubby boy who, even at 14, spoke with sophistication about car thefts, hangouts, and girl friends. He was very eager to get a car and to have a good time.

Fred's classmates knew him as a poor student who had abdicated his school responsibilities long before leaving school.

> Fred isn't too smart. He has stayed back. He isn't interested in school. He slopes a lot. He isn't too interested in sports.
>
> Fred is 16, so he thinks since he was left back it doesn't matter now.
>
> He's not too intelligent, dresses like Elvis Presley. He seems always ready to pick a fight, uses vulgar language constantly. I seem to get along with him although I wouldn't call him my friend. I don't dislike him; I only feel sorry for him.
>
> He is a very lazy person. He is always getting into trouble and he thinks it is fun. As far as I know, he is failing most of his subjects. He's not one of the gang and hangs around with the wrong kind of boys.
>
> He's the laziest, the fattest, and he's a real gone character.
>
> He's fat, and he is always sloping class.
>
> He don't care about school.
>
> He just seems like he doesn't want to learn.

> He's a happy-go-lucky fellow. He doesn't care much about anything.
>
> He don't do any work in school. He fools and laughs during classes.
>
> He is discourteous to teachers. He talks out of turn. As far as I'm concerned, an awful personality.

Fred, like the other hoodlum types, came in for his share of disapproval for bullying, being a wise guy, and "acting big."

> He is a wise guy.
>
> He's big and heavy, girl crazy, has little interest in school, stays out late, always in trouble, can't be told anything, argues a lot with the teachers, always good for a laugh.
>
> He acts like a big shot and thinks he can shove everybody around.
>
> Sometimes he gets a lot of kids in trouble. Whatever he says goes.
>
> He isn't any good. He smokes and drinks, and I don't mean soda.
>
> He is heavy. A lot of boys are afraid of him, so they do what he tells them to do. He likes to try and be a big shot. He likes to be the boss of everything.
>
> He is conceited and acts like a big shot.

Don had two offenses on his record and a number of friends with records of their own. He did not have the excuse of inadequate mental ability; his teachers rated him "average." When interviewed in the eighth grade he said he was not interested in college. The interviewer described him as bright-looking and "effeminate," adding that he will probably grow out of his effeminacy. Don's effeminacy did not escape the notice of his classmates. Thirteen girls in the seventh grade commented about Don. Of the 13 comments, nine referred specifically to some aspect of his failure to conform to their concepts of masculinity.

> He's very nice, small, underweight.
>
> He's short, like a little woman.

> He talks more than 10 ladies, a sissy, silly. I can't stand him.
>
> He is a good sport, but acts like a little girl.
>
> He makes the girls giggle.
>
> He can't take gym because of his asthma.
>
> He's usually full of fun, but sometimes acts too silly. He has a sort of high voice and can sing good.

The following two comments point up Don's difficulties and his efforts to gain the respect of the boys in the class:

> Don is very nice even though the boys call him a sissy because he has asthma and can't take gym. He always is giving compliments out that are good.
>
> He has asthma so he can't take gym. He tries to be popular with the boys even though he can't take gym.

Despite his efforts to be popular with the boys in the seventh grade, Don was scarcely noticed by them. By the ninth grade, however, he was a fairly high-status member of the class among both boys and girls. Their perception of him had changed tremendously. The sissy of the seventh grade still "looks like a girl," but you'd scarcely notice it because he "acts big," "gets into trouble," and "doesn't care a hoot about anything." Don seemed to be working hard at being a man.

> He is a smart aleck and thinks he is big because he gets into trouble with the school and the police.
>
> He is always trying to show off and be big and act smart but really isn't.
>
> He is always trying to impress someone and act like a big wheel.
>
> He takes off from school and goes on joy rides with other boys who are sloping from school.
>
> He is always saying he wishes he didn't have to go to school because he could be somewhere else having a good time.
>
> I like good times myself but he prefers them in school. He doesn't mind getting called down to the main office or being put out of class. He receives thrills and likes to talk about it.

> He is the boy who continually hangs around the corner candy store smoking or just loafing around with a few slutty girls.
>
> He is the type which would not stay home on a Sunday afternoon. He would get a couple of boys together and go down to the candy store and wait for the girls they know.
>
> He thinks he is God's gift to the women. I think he gets a thrill out of anything good and bad.
>
> He is always having fun and never does his school work.
>
> He is never in school. He comes to school in the morning and then leaves with his friends. Then, when he is in school, he tries to make a big joke of it.
>
> I don't know whether Don likes school or not but whenever there's something doing, he's in it. There aren't any school rules for him. Skipping classes, getting detentions are fun.
>
> He is always out for a thrill and is fresh. He thinks he is all it.
>
> He's always fooling around in and out of school. He doesn't care about school or whether he passes or not. He's always out at night for thrills and excitement.

By December, 1958, during his junior year, Donald had convinced not only his classmates but himself as well that he was a happy-go-lucky breaker of rules; not a sissy who couldn't even take gym, but a man of the world who no longer had an interest in kid stuff like school. He quit school for good.

Two leavers who found a goal

The last two cases are of boys who left school before graduating, but, unlike most early school leavers, kept out of trouble. Peter and Henry had much in common. They were both intellectually dull boys, assigned to special classes, who went through school practically unnoticed by their peers; neither one was selected for comment on the group questionnaires. Both realized that there was no future for them in school but remained out of trouble because they found goals outside of school.

Peter, a white boy, never had any delinquent friends, nor was he ever in trouble with the law himself. His life has run smoothly and with the kind of contunuity one seldom experiences in twentieth century America. He hardly seems to have felt the handicap of his sub-normal mental capacity. He and his two brothers worked in their father's business, raising and selling vegetables, from the time that they were old enough to be helpful. The farm and vegetable stand are profitable, and Pete is content with what his father pays him. He is now earning $65 per week for 70 hours of work. He buys his own clothing but is not expected to contribute toward his expenses at home.

Pete is glad he left school, and he is probably right when he says, "It was foolish for me to waste my time in school when I could be working at a job I know and like to do." Pete's future is right on the farm. He says he has never considered doing anything else. It has always been understood that when his father retires, he and his brothers will take over the business.

His only problem, and this is a measure of Peter's low intelligence, is that he has been unable to pass the written part of the driver's licensing test. He has saved enough money for a car and desperately wants to own and drive one. When he was asked, "What do you think is living good?" he answered that the good life, as far as he was concerned, was doing exactly what he was doing and having a car for his leisure hours.

Henry is not having as easy a time as Peter, but he is just as devoted to his plans for the future. Like many Negro boys who have few resources to exploit, Henry dreams of a career in boxing. To this end, he devotes all his physical and mental energies, willingly putting off good times and plans for his personal life until he is an established professional boxer. "Girls and boxing don't mix," he says.

He has had a number of jobs, mostly doing heavy labor, partly to keep in condition and partly because he cannot get anything better because of his lack of education. For this reason he regrets quitting school and hopes someday, after he starts fighting, to take courses in English and arithmetic. He lives in an old dilapidated apartment house in a slum, for which he just manages to pay room and board with nothing left over for clothing and food on the job. In his spare time he does very little besides going to the Y where he prepares for his career, jumping rope, swimming, punching the punching bag. He watches the fights on television and sometimes he just sits outside his house talking to the neighbors.

His ambition is not to become another Joe Louis. He hopes only to become established as a professional boxer so that he can make a living from it. When that time comes, he will think of a wife and children. Modest though his ambitions are, they may very well come to nothing. What will happen when Henry gives up this only possibility for pulling himself out of the slum? He will probably go back to the friends and the kind of life that got him into trouble twice in 1955 and 1956. In the meantime, boxing is keeping him out of trouble. And anyhow, there is no other way out for Henry.

Conclusion

The four boys who had intellectual aspirations while in high school are in college now pursuing those aspirations. Bill, the fifth "boy with a future," is following through on his ambition as a professional baseball player. With one exception, the boys who were oriented only to the present while in high school are still drifting. Nick is the exception. A boy with low intelligence and serious home problems, he is making an effort to redeem the past. After graduation, he enrolled in a technical school to study drafting, and he is supporting himself with a part-time job as a shoe salesman.

Of course, many adolescent flounderers will make commitments later to work and to family life. The danger of adolescent rebellion and delinquency is not that it leads to a life of crime. With one or two exceptions, none of the boys in our study has the connections or the skills needed by a professional criminal. The pity of school failure and delinquency is that they fritter away the years when the course of a boy's life is usually determined. The boy who decides to go to college or to learn a trade (through serving an apprenticeship) establishes the style of life on which he, his future wife, and his future children will live for the next generation. The boy who has no goal as an adolescent makes his future too, unwittingly, by default. He becomes a cripple in the labor market and must work at menial, poorly-paid jobs for the rest of his life. He will not be able to give his wife and children the opportunities that his more goal-directed classmates will give theirs.

Appendix A. Forms Used in Data Collection

1. Questionnaires were filled out by:

   a. 7th grade boys and 7th grade girls in May, 1955
   b. 8th grade boys and 8th grade girls in May, 1956
   c. 9th grade boys and 9th grade girls in May, 1957
   d. 12th grade boys and 12th grade girls in May, 1960

   Four of these eight questionnaires are attached for illustrative purposes.

   The processing of these questionnaires involved coding each questionnaire, punching I.B.M. detail cards from the code sheets, and obtaining master cards from machine operations with the detail cards. A facsimile of the code sheet used in the processing of the questionnaire of one 8th grade boy will illustrate the procedure. Each line on the code sheet represents his sociometric responses to one other boy in the grade and resulted in a separate detail or dyad card. Thus, the last line on the code sheet indicates that the boy who filled out the questionnaire -- his code number happened to be 4407 -- said that the boy whose code number was 0008 was one of "the smartest, most intelligent boys in the 8th grade." A "1" in the last column indicates that these two boys (chooser and object of choice) were in different home rooms. Of course, as the first line on the code sheet shows, it is possible for a subject to name an object on several questions.

   After all the detail cards had been punched, they were sorted on columns 5-8 (the code numbers of objects of choice) and the data were summarized on master cards for each object. Thus, the master card relating to 0008 contains all of the choices made about him by the boys and girls in the 8th grade. (A code sheet used on questionnaires filled out by girls is also attached. The detail cards were manufactured in the same way as with boys. Because boys' and girls' questionnaires were precoded in a compatible way, the master cards were manufactured in one operation with combined boys' and girls' detail cards.)

2. Interviews were conducted with members of the panel during the following academic years:

1955-1956	A year
1956-1957	B year
1957-1958	C year
1958-1959	D year
1959-1960	E year

   Each male friend reported was recorded on a separate sheet containing basic data about him. The form is attached.

3. During B and E years, information was obtained from respondents on their time allocations during the Friday, Saturday, and Sunday preceding the interview. The diary form used is attached.

4. In the interviews with the school leavers, an attempt was made to secure complete work histories. The form used is attached.

(Filled out by 7th Grade Boys, May, 1955)

RUTGERS SURVEY OF HUMAN RELATIONS

1. This is NOT A TEST. We want your personal opinions.
2. Your answers are CONFIDENTIAL.
3. Raise your hand:
   - whenever you have any questions
   - when you are finished.

Please begin by filling in the following:

Your date of birth: ______________ Month ______ Day ________ Year

PART I: ALL THE QUESTIONS IN PART I REFER TO 7TH GRADE BOYS IN ROOSEVELT JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL

WRITE CLEARLY

	First Name	Last Name
Who would you say are the most popular boys in the 7th grade?		
Which 7th grade boys do you personally like best?		
Which 7th grade boys do you dislike?		
Which boys do you think are the best athletes in the 7th grade?		
Whom do you think are the smartest, most intelligent boys in the 7th grade?		
Which boys in the 7th grade have a lot of influence with the other kids? (When they suggest something, the other kids usually go along.)		

First Name ______________ Last Name ______________

Which 7th grade boys do you admire most? (Which 7th grade boys are the kind of boys you'd most like to be?)

______________ ______________

______________ ______________

______________ ______________

With which 7th grade boys would you be most likely to talk over something that is worrying you?

______________ ______________

______________ ______________

______________ ______________

Which 7th grade boys seem "stuck-up" and seem to think they are better than the other kids?

______________ ______________

______________ ______________

______________ ______________

Which 7th grade boys would you be most likely to talk to about girls?

______________ ______________

______________ ______________

______________ ______________

Which 7th grade boys would you be most likely to talk to about movies?

______________ ______________

______________ ______________

______________ ______________

Which of the boys in the 7th grade of Roosevelt Junior High School do you pal around with outside of school?

______________ ______________

______________ ______________

______________ ______________

______________ ______________

PART II: OUT-OF-SCHOOL FRIENDS

PRINT CLEARLY

	First Name	Last Name
What boys do you pal around with outside of school (whether they attend Roosevelt Junior High School of not)?		
What girls do you pal around with outside of school (whether they attend Roosevelt Junior High School or not)?		

PART III: WHAT YOU DID YESTERDAY FROM THE TIME YOU LEFT SCHOOL UNTIL YOU WENT TO BED:

What did you do from 3 to 4?	With whom did you do this? First Name	Last Name

What did you do from 4 to 5?	With whom did you do this? First Name	Last Name

What did you do from 5 to 6?	With whom did you do this? First Name	Last Name

What did you do from 6 to 7?	With whom did you do this? First Name	Last Name

What did you do from 7 to 8?	With whom did you do this? First Name	Last Name

What did you do from 8 to 9?	With whom did you do this? First Name	Last Name

What did you do from 9 to 10?	With whom did you do this? First Name	Last Name

At what time did you go to bed? ____________________

(Filled out by 8th Grade Boys, May, 1956)

RUTGERS SURVEY OF HUMAN RELATIONS

1. This is NOT A TEST. We want your personal opinions.
2. Your answers are CONFIDENTIAL. No one who knows you will see them.
3. Raise your hand:

   -whenever you have any questions
   -when you are finished.

Please begin by filling in the following:

Your date of birth: ____________ Month ________ Day ________ Year

Your homeroom: ____________

PART I: ALL THE QUESTIONS IN PART I REFER TO 8TH GRADE BOYS IN ROOSEVELT JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL

WRITE CLEARLY

	First Name	Last Name	
Who would you say are the most popular boys in the 8th grade?	____________	____________	(9)
	____________	____________	
	____________	____________	
Which 8th grade boys do you personally like best?	____________	____________	(10)
	____________	____________	
	____________	____________	
	____________	____________	
	____________	____________	
Which 8th grade boys do you dislike?	____________	____________	(11)
	____________	____________	
	____________	____________	
Which boys do you think are the best athletes in the 8th grade?	____________	____________	(12)
	____________	____________	
	____________	____________	
	____________	____________	
Which 8th grade boys don't care whether they do well in school or not?	____________	____________	(13)
	____________	____________	
	____________	____________	
	____________	____________	
Which boys in the 8th grade have a lot of influence with the other kids? (When they suggest something, the other kids usually go along.)	____________	____________	(14)
	____________	____________	
	____________	____________	

	First Name	Last Name	
Which 8th grade boys do you admire most? (Which 8th grade boys are the kind of boys you'd most like to be?)	____________	____________	(15)
	____________	____________	
	____________	____________	
With which 8th grade boys would you be most likely to talk over something that is worrying you?	____________	____________	(16)
	____________	____________	
	____________	____________	
Which 8th grade boys seem "stuck-up" and seem to think they are better than the other kids?	____________	____________	(17)
	____________	____________	
	____________	____________	
Which 8th grade boys would you be most likely to talk to about girls?	____________	____________	(18)
	____________	____________	
	____________	____________	
Which 8th grade boys would you be most likely to talk to about movies?	____________	____________	(19)
	____________	____________	
	____________	____________	
Which 8th grade boys are out for good times, thrills, and excitement nearly all the time?	____________	____________	(20)
	____________	____________	
	____________	____________	
	____________	____________	
Whom do you think are the smartest, most intelligent boys in the 8th grade?	____________	____________	(21)
	____________	____________	
	____________	____________	
	____________	____________	

PART II: FELLOWS FROM ROOSEVELT JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL
WHOM YOU ARE FRIENDS WITH OUTSIDE OF SCHOOL

	First Name	Last Name	
Which of the boys in the 8th grade of Roosevelt Junior High School do you pal around with outside of school?	____________	____________	(22)
	____________	____________	
	____________	____________	
	____________	____________	
Which of the boys in the 9th grade of Roosevelt Junior High School do you pal around with outside of school?	____________	____________	
	____________	____________	
	____________	____________	
	____________	____________	
Which of the boys in the 7th grade of Roosevelt Junior High School do you pal around with outside of school?	____________	____________	
	____________	____________	
	____________	____________	

PART III: YOUR THREE CLOSEST AND BEST FRIENDS OUTSIDE OF SCHOOL
(WHETHER THEY ATTEND ROOSEVELT JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL OR NOT)

	First Name	Last Name
Write down the name of one of your three closest and best friends outside of school (whether he attends Roosevelt Junior High School or not):	____________	____________

1. Check the statement which best describes him:

____ He is very much interested in playing baseball and other sports.

____ He is not much interested in playing baseball and other sports.

2. Check the statement which best describes him:

____ I can count on him to stick by me all the time.

____ He's a pretty good friend, but I can't be absolutely sure of him.

3. Check the statement which best describes him:

____ If something seems exciting, he'll do it--no matter what it is.

____ He can have fun without being reckless and wild.

4. Check the statement which best describes him:

_____ He likes school and gets along with the teachers.

_____ He's bored with school and doesn't get along well with the teachers.

Now, write down the name of your second closest friend outside of school: First Name _____ Last Name _____

1. Check the statement which best describes him:

_____ He is very much interested in playing baseball and other sports.

_____ He is not much interested in playing baseball and other sports.

2. Check the statement which best describes him:

_____ I can count on him to stick by me all the time.

_____ He's a pretty good friend, but I can't be absolutely sure of him.

3. Check the statement which best describes him:

_____ If something seems exciting, he'll do it--no matter what it is.

_____ He can have fun without being reckless and wild.

4. Check the statement which best describes him:

_____ He likes school and gets along with the teachers.

_____ He's bored with school and doesn't get along well with the teachers.

Now, write down the name of your third closest friend outside of school: First Name _____ Last Name _____

1. Check the statement which best describes him:

_____ He is very much interested in playing baseball and other sports.

_____ He is not much interested in playing baseball and other sports.

2. Check the statement which best describes him:

_____ I can count on him to stick by me no matter what.

_____ He's a pretty good friend, but I can't be absolutely sure of him.

3. Check the statement which best describes him:

_____ If something seems exciting, he'll do it--no matter what it is.

_____ He can have fun without being reckless and wild.

4. Check the statement which best describes him:

_____ He likes school and gets along with the teachers.

_____ He's bored with school and doesn't get along well with the teachers.

Now, think about what you are really like.

1. Check the statement which best describes you:

_____ I am very much interested in playing baseball and other sports.

_____ I am not much interested in playing baseball and other sports.

2. Check the statement which best describes you:

_____ My friends can count on me to stick by them all the time.

_____ I go along with my friends as long as they do things I approve of.

3. Check the statement which best describes you:

_____ If something seems exciting, I'll do it--no matter what it is.

_____ I can have fun without being reckless and wild.

4. Check the statement which best describes you:

_____ I like school and get along with the teachers.

_____ I'm bored with school and don't get along well with the teachers.

THANK YOU FOR YOUR HELP

(Filled out by 9th Grade Girls, May, 1957)

RUTGERS SURVEY OF HUMAN RELATIONS

1. This is NOT A TEST. We want your personal opinions.
2. Your answers are CONFIDENTIAL. No one who knows you will see them.
3. Raise your hand:

    -whenever you have any questions
    -when you are finished.

Please begin by filling in the following:

Your date of birth: ______________ ______ ________
Month Day Year

Your homeroom: ______________

PART I: 9th GRADE BOYS AT ROOSEVELT JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL

WRITE CLEARLY

	First Name	Last Name	
Who would you say are the most popular boys in the 9th grade?	________	________	(25)
	________	________	
	________	________	
Which 9th grade boys do you personally like best?	________	________	(26)
	________	________	
	________	________	
	________	________	
	________	________	
Which 9th grade boys do you dislike?	________	________	(27
	________	________	
	________	________	
Which 9th grade boys do you admire most?	________	________	(28
	________	________	
	________	________	
Which 9th grade boys act like "tough guys"?	________	________	(29
	________	________	
	________	________	
Which boys do you think are the best athletes in the 9th grade?	________	________	(30
	________	________	
	________	________	
	________	________	

First Name Last Name

Which 9th grade boys don't care whether they do well in school or not?

________________ ________________ (31)

________________ ________________

________________ ________________

________________ ________________

Which boys in the 9th grade have a lot of influence with the other kids? (When they suggest something, the other kids usually go along.)

________________ ________________ (32)

________________ ________________

________________ ________________

Which 9th grade boys are out for good times, thrills, and excitement nearly all the time?

________________ ________________ (33)

________________ ________________

________________ ________________

________________ ________________

Who do you think are the smartest, most intelligent boys in the 9th grade?

________________ ________________ (34)

________________ ________________

________________ ________________

________________ ________________

Which 9th grade boys do you consider conceited?

________________ ________________ (35)

________________ ________________

________________ ________________

Which 9th grade boys are you friends with outside of school?

________________ ________________ (36)

________________ ________________

________________ ________________

________________ ________________

PART II: For each boy you mention in Part I, write a paragraph describing his personality so that a complete stranger could understand what he is like.

Name of one boy who you said is popular: ____________ ____________
First Name Last Name

What is he like? ________________________________

Name of one of the best athletes in the grade: ____________ ____________
First Name Last Name

What is he like? ________________________________

Name of one boy who doesn't care whether he does well in school or not: ____________ ____________
First Name Last Name

What is he like? ________________________________

Name of one boy who you said has a lot of influence with the other kids: ____________ ____________
First Name Last Name

What is he like? ________________________________

Name of one boy who you said is out for good times, thrills, and excitement: ____________ ____________

First Name Last Name

What is he like?____

Name of one boy who you said is the smartest, most intelligent boy in the grade: ____________ ____________

First Name Last Name

What is he like?____

Name of one 9th grade boy whom you said you are friends with outside of school: ____________ ____________

First Name Last Name

What is he like?____

THANK YOU FOR YOUR HELP. WOULD YOU PLEASE RAISE YOUR HAND SO THAT WE CAN CHECK YOUR QUESTIONNAIRE FOR COMPLETENESS?

(Filled out by 12th Grade Girls, May, 1960)

RUTGERS, THE STATE UNIVERSITY

Department of Sociology

SURVEY OF HUMAN RELATIONS

1. This is NOT A TEST. We want your personal opinions.
2. Your answers are CONFIDENTIAL. No one who knows you will see then.
3. Raise your hand:

   -whenever you have any questions
   -when you are finished.

Please begin by filling in the following:

Your date of birth: ______________ ______ ______
Month Date Year

Your homeroom: ______________

ALL QUESTIONS REFER TO 12TH GRADE BOYS IN NEW BRUNSWICK SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL

WRITE CLEARLY

First Name Last Name

Who would you say are the most popular boys in the 12th grade? __________ __________ (25)

__________ __________

__________ __________

Which 12th grade boys do you personally like best? __________ __________ (26)

__________ __________

__________ __________

__________ __________

__________ __________

Which 12th grade boys do you dislike? __________ __________ (27)

__________ __________

__________ __________

Which 12th grade boys do you admire most? __________ __________ (28)

__________ __________

__________ __________

Which 12th grade boys act like "tough guys?" __________ __________ (29)

__________ __________

__________ __________

Which boys do you think are the best athletes in the 12th grade? __________ __________ (30)

__________ __________

__________ __________

__________ __________

First Name Last Name

Which 12th grade boys don't care whether they do well in school or not?

__________ __________ (31)

__________ __________

__________ __________

__________ __________

Which boys in the 12th grade have a lot of influence with the other students in the 12th grade? (When they suggest something, the other students usually go along.)

__________ __________ (32)

__________ __________

__________ __________

Which 12th grade boys are out for good times, thrills, and excitement nearly all the time?

__________ __________ (33)

__________ __________

__________ __________

__________ __________

Who do you think are the smartest, most intelligent boys in the 12th grade?

__________ __________ (34)

__________ __________

__________ __________

__________ __________

Which 12th grade boys do you consider conceited?

__________ __________ (35)

__________ __________

__________ __________

Which 12th grade boys are you friends with outside of school?

__________ __________ (36)

__________ __________

__________ __________

__________ __________

Name of one 12th grade boy who you said is popular:

First Name   Last Name

What makes you think he is popular?

Name of one 12th grade boy you said you like best:

First Name   Last Name

What is there about him that makes you like him?

Name of one 12th grade boy you said you dislike:

First Name   Last Name

What does he do that makes you dislike him?

Name of one 12th grade boy who acts like a tough guy: ______________ ______________

First Name Last Name

What does he do that makes you think of him as a tough guy? ______________

Name of one 12th grade boy who you said has a lot of influence with the other students: ______________ ______________

First Name Last Name

What makes you think he has a lot of influence with the other students? ______________

Name of one 12th grade boy who you said is out for good times, thrills and excitement: ______________ ______________

First Name Last Name

What makes you think he is out for good times, thrills and excitement? ______________

THANK YOU FOR YOUR HELP. WOULD YOU PLEASE RAISE YOUR HAND SO THAT WE CAN CHECK YOUR QUESTIONNAIRE FOR COMPLETENESS?

Number of Subject 1 2 3 4	Number of Object 5 6 7 8	Popu-lar 9	Like Best 10	Dis-like 11	Best Ath. 12	Don't Care 13	Influ-ence 14	Ad-mire 15	Worry. You 16	Stuck Up 17	Girls 18	Movies 19	Thrills 20	Smart-est 21	Pal Around 22	Same H.R. 23	Diff. H.R. 24
4407	5523	1	1		1			1	1		1	1	1			1	
4407	2204	1			1												1
4407	4814		1						1		1	1	1		1		1
4407	4413			1	1		1			1							1
4407	2219			1			1			1							1
4407	5815					1										1	
4407	5541					1										1	
4407	0002													1			1
4407	0008													1			1

Number of Subject 1 2 3 4	Number of Object 5 6 7 8	Popular 25	Like Best 26	Dislike 27	Admire 28	Tough Guy 29	Athlete 30	Don't Care 31	Influence 32	Good Times 33	Smartest 34	Conceited 35	Friends with 36	Same H.R. 37	Diff. H.R. 38

Name of Respondent: __________ __________ Date of Interview: ____ ____ ____
Last First Mo. Day Year

Code Number: __________ Name of friend: __________ __________
First Last

1. Is he older or younger than you?

__Younger (How much? __________ __________)
years months

__Older (How much? __________ __________)
years months

2. How far did your friend get in school?

_______Still enrolled Quit at age of__________

What was the last grade that he finished? __________

Name of last school he attended: ______________________________
Location

3. How long have you been friends with him? __________ __________
years months

4. What do you usually do with him? ______________________________

____

____

5. How good a friend is he? Is he ____ a real buddy,

____ a close friend, or ____ just a friend?

6. What is your friend like? ______________________________

____

____

____

____

____

____

____

____

____

Code Number ________ Day of Week ________ Month Day Year ________

Date of birth of respondent: ________
Month Day Year

What time did you get up? ________

Breakfast? ____Yes ____No When? ________ Where? ________

With whom? ________

What did you do then? With whom?

____

____

____

____

____

Lunch? ____Yes ____No When? ________ Where? ________

With whom? ________

What did you do then? With whom?

____

____

____

____

____

____

____

Supper? ____Yes ____No When? ________ Where? ________

With whom? ________

What did you do then? With whom?

____

____

____

Name: ______ Date: ______
Month Day Year

Jobs Since Leaving School

How long was it after leaving school that you got your first job? ______
weeks months

What was your first job? ______
job description employer

How much did you make? ______
take-home pay per week

How long did you work at this job? ______
weeks months

How did you happen to leave? ______
quit? fired? notice?

How long was it after this job until you got your next job? ______
weeks months

What was your second job? ______
job description employer

How much did you make? ______
take-home pay per week

How long did you work at this job? ______
weeks months

How did you happen to leave? ______
quit? fired? notice?

How long was it after this job until you got your next job? ______
weeks months

What was your third job? ______
job description employer

How much did you make? ______
take-home pay per week

How long did you work at this job? ______
weeks months

How did you happen to leave? ______
quit? fired? notice?

How long was it after this job until you got your next job? ______
weeks months

What was your fourth job? ______
job description employer

How much did you make? ______
take-home pay per week

How long did you work at this job? ______
weeks months

How did you happen to leave? ______

What time did you get to bed? ______

Where did you spend the night? ______

Name: ______________________ Date: ______________________

Month Day Year

Jobs Since Leaving School

How long was it after leaving school that you got your first job? ______________________

weeks months

What was your first job? ______________________

job description employer

How much did you make? ______________________

take-home pay per week

How long did you work at this job? ______________________

weeks months

How did you happen to leave? ______________________

quit? fired? notice?

How long was it after this job until you got your next job? ______________________

weeks months

What was your second job? ______________________

job description employer

How much did you make? ______________________

take-home pay per week

How long did you work at this job? ______________________

weeks months

How did you happen to leave? ______________________

quit? fired? notice?

How long was it after this job until you got your next job? ______________________

weeks months

What was your third job? ______________________

job description employer

How much did you make? ______________________

take-home pay per week

How long did you work at this job? ______________________

weeks months

How did you happen to leave? ______________________

quit? fired? notice?

How long was it after this job until you got your next job? ______________________

weeks months

What was your fourth job? ______________________

job description employer

How much did you make? ______________________

take-home pay per week

How long did you work at this job? ______________________

weeks months

How did you happen to leave? ______________________

Appendix B. Operational Definitions

a/ In Table 2, two criteria were used to separate respondents who had "few friends arrested" from those who had "many friends arrested." Those respondents who had at least one year with a proportion of 33% or more friends arrested and an average of one delinquent friend per year were considered to have "many" friends arrested. All those who had some friends arrested but failed to meet these criteria were said to have "few" friends arrested.

b/ Intellectual levels were defined as follows: Boys were classified "brightest" if they were placed by the school authorities in the 3 top level 7th or 8th grade ability groupings and also received 2 or more votes from 7th or 8th grade fellow students as "smartest, most intelligent."

Boys were classified "bright" in either of two ways: (1) if they were placed by school authorities in the top 3 ability levels in the 7th or 8th grades but received less than 2 votes from fellow students as "smartest, most intelligent" or (2) if they were placed by the school authorities in ability groupings 4 or 5 and received 2 or more votes as "smartest, most intelligent."

Boys were classified "mediocre" if they (1) were placed in ability groupings 4 or 5 but received less than 2 votes as "smartest, most intelligent" or (2) were placed in ability groupings 6 or 7 and received two or more votes as "smartest, most intelligent."

Boys were classified "dull" if they were placed in ability groupings 6 or 7 and received less than 2 votes as "smartest, most intelligent."

Boys who entered in the 9th grade were not classified by ability groupings. In these cases, quartile position on 9th grade marks was substituted for ability groupings. The first two quartiles were considered equivalent to ability groupings 1, 2, and 3. The 3rd quartile was equated with ability groupings 4 and 5, while the last quartile was considered equivalent to the last two ability groupings, 6 and 7.

c/ "High" status includes only those objects who were positive on all 4 contrived items, i.e., category 4. (See Table 1.) Medium status includes categories 2 and 3, while low status is made up of categories 0 and 1.

d/ Boys were called "athletes" if they received 3 or more votes from their fellow classmates as "best athlete." All the rest were called "non-athletes."